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Occident



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BY JOSEPH COOK.

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BOSTON MONDAY LECTURES.

OCCIDENT,

WITH PRELUDES ON CURRENT EVENTS.

By JOSEPH [✓]COOK.

The sky is roof of but one family.

I will be citizen of the whole earth.

THE RHINE FROM THE ODENWALD.



BOSTON:
HOUGHTON, MIFFLIN AND COMPANY.

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To
THE MANY SCORES OF FRIENDS
IN
ENGLAND, SCOTLAND, GERMANY, INDIA, CHINA,
JAPAN, AND AUSTRALIA,
WHOSE KINDNESS TO ME AND MINE, ON A TOUR OF THE WORLD,
HAS ENCIRCLED THE EARTH FOR US WITH
A CHAIN OF MEMORIES,
EVERY LINK IN WHICH IS GOLDEN,
This Book
IS RESPECTFULLY, GRATEFULLY, AND AFFECTIONATELY
DEDICATED,
IN ASPIRATION FOR THE SUCCESS OF
INTERNATIONAL REFORM,
AND THE GROWTH OF THE SPIRIT OF A
COSMOPOLITAN CITIZENSHIP.

THE wind blows east, the wind blows west ;
The world, they say, is worst to the best.

THOMAS CARLYLE.

Afloating, afloating
Across the sleeping sea ;
All night I heard a singing-bird,
Upon the top-mast tree.

“ Oh came you from the isles of Greece
Or from the banks of Seine ;
Or off some tree in forests free
Which fringe the Western main ? ”

“ I came not off the Old World,
Nor yet from off the New ;
But I am one of the birds of God
Which sing the whole night through.”

“ Oh sing and wake the dawning,
Oh whistle for the wind ;
The night is long, the current strong,
My boat it lags behind.”

“ The current sweeps the Old World ;
The current sweeps the New ;
The wind will blow, the dawn will glow
Ere thou hast sailed them through.”

CHARLES KINGSLEY.

INTRODUCTION.

THE object of the Boston Monday Lectures is to present the results of the freshest German, English, and American scholarship on the more important and difficult topics concerning the relations of Religion and Science.

They were begun in the Meionaon in 1875. The audiences gathered at noon on Mondays were of such size as to need to be transferred to Park Street Church in October, 1876, and thence to Tremont Temple, which was often more than full during the winter of 1876-77 and in that of 1877-78. The very capacious auditorium of Tremont Temple was destroyed by fire in August, 1879; and in November of that year the lectures were transferred to the Old South Meeting-House, the most interesting of the historic edifices of New England.

The audiences have always contained large numbers of ministers, teachers, and other educated men.

The thirty-five lectures given in 1876-77 were reported in the Boston Daily "Advertiser," by Mr. J. E. Bacon, stenographer, and most of them were republished in full in New York and London. They are contained in the first, second, and third volumes of Boston Monday Lectures, entitled "Biology," "Transcendentalism," and "Orthodoxy."

The thirty lectures given in 1877-78 were reported by Mr. Bacon for the "Advertiser," and republished in full in

New York and London. They are contained in the fourth, fifth, and sixth volumes of Boston Monday Lectures, entitled "Conscience," "Heredity," and "Marriage."

The twenty lectures given in 1878-79 were reported by Mr. Bacon for the "Advertiser," and republished in full in New York and London. They are contained in the seventh and eighth volumes of Boston Monday Lectures, entitled "Labor" and "Socialism."

In 1880, 1881, and 1882, Mr. Cook made a tour of the world, as traveler and lecturer.

During his absence there was given in Tremont Temple, in the Boston Monday Lectureship, a course of ten lectures, which are now included in the volume entitled "Christ and Modern Thought." The lecturers were : —

President JAMES McCOSH, D. D., LL. D., of Princeton College.

Ex-President MARK HOPKINS, D. D., LL. D., of Williams College.

President E. G. ROBINSON, D. D., LL. D., of Brown University.

Rev. S. W. DIKE.

Rev. THOMAS GUARD, D. D.

Rt. Rev. THOMAS M. CLARK, D. D., LL. D.

Prof. GEORGE R. CROOKS, D. D., LL. D., of Drew Theological Seminary.

Rev. G. B. THOMAS, D. D.

Rev. JOHN COTTON SMITH, D. D.

Chancellor HOWARD CROSBY, D. D., LL. D.

In the volume made up of the lectures of these gentlemen, there was published a preliminary lecture on "The Methods of Meeting Modern Unbelief," given by Mr. Cook in London. In the English edition there was included Wendell Phillips' Reply to Chancellor Crosby's View of the Temperance Question.

After returning from his tour of the world, Mr. Cook gave in the Boston Monday Lectureship, in Tremont Temple, the twelve lectures which are included in the ninth and tenth volumes of the Boston Monday Lectures, entitled "Occident" and "Orient." They were reported stenographically by Mr. Bacon, and republished in full in New York, Chicago, London, and other cities.

The following is the REPORT OF THE BOSTON MONDAY LECTURESHIP FOR 1883 : —

1. The published reports of the Boston Monday Lectures are now estimated to reach in America, England, Scotland, India, and Australia more than a million readers weekly.

2. The audiences in Boston for the season of 1883 — the seventh of the Lectureship — have been of unprecedented quantity and quality, often exceeding the seating capacity of Tremont Temple.

3. The Monday Lectures given in past years now make eight volumes in their American form, and of these several have reached a fifteenth or sixteenth edition. There are in England thirteen different forms of these volumes as republished in London. It is affirmed by their numerous publishers that no volumes on similar themes have ever been circulated more widely than these through England, Scotland, India, and Australia.

4. During Mr. Cook's recent absence from Boston, he made a tour of the world, the journey extending through two years and seventy-seven days. He lectured oftener, on the average, than every other working-day, while on the land. In all the great cities visited there were immense audiences. The principal subjects of the lectures were the chief questions now in discussion between Christianity on the one hand, and philosophy and physical science on the other. It is believed that topics equally difficult and serious were never before carried through a tour of similar extent and success.

There were 135 public appearances in the United Kingdom, 42 in India and Ceylon, 5 in China, 12 in Japan, and 50 in Australia.

5. Among the distinguished gentlemen who have given written permission for the use of their names on the Honorary Committee of the Boston Monday Lectureship, are :—

Rev. JAMES McCOSH, D. D., President of Princeton College ; Rev. R. S. STORRS, D. D., Brooklyn, N. Y. ; Rev. ROSWELL D. HITCHCOCK, D. D., New York city ; Rev. WILLIAM M. TAYLOR, D. D., New York city ; Prof. EDWARDS A. PARK, D. D., Andover, Mass. ; Prof. J. P. GULLIVER, Andover, Mass. ; Bishop F. D. HUNTINGTON, Syracuse, N. Y. ; Rev. T. M. POST, D. D., St. Louis ; Prof. S. I. CURTISS, Chicago Theological Seminary ; President GEORGE F. MAGOUN, Iowa College ; Bishop BENJAMIN N. PADDOCK ; Hon. A. H. RICE, Ex-Governor of Massachusetts ; Hon. WILLIAM CLAFLIN, Ex-Governor of Massachusetts ; Rev. WILLIAM M. BAKER, D. D., Boston ; Prof. BORDEN P. BOWNE, Boston University ; SAMUEL JOHNSON, Boston ; WENDELL PHILLIPS, Boston ; Rev. N. G. CLARK, D. D., Boston ; Rev. OTIS GIBSON, San Francisco ; Gen. JOHN EATON, Department of the Interior, Washington, D. C.

6. Devoutly grateful to Providence for the opportunities of usefulness open before the Boston Monday Lectureship, the Committee in charge of it recommends :—

(1.) The formation of a Boston Monday Lectureship Association on the following plan :—

Membership of the association shall be open to those who subscribe \$1 annually to its support. Each dollar subscribed shall entitle the subscriber to one seat in the annual course of lectures, and to one vote in the annual election of officers. Every five dollars subscribed by a single individual shall give the right of selecting reserved seats in the order of the subscriptions.

The general public is to be admitted to any empty spaces left in the seats ; and, if necessary, contributions may be taken.

(2.) The continuance of the lectures under the same general plan as in the past.

(3.) The raising of at least \$2,500 for each season to cover expenses.

Signed (for the Committee).

A. J. GORDON, *President*.

M. R. DEMING, *Secretary and Treasurer*.

G. A. FOXCROFT, *Business Manager*.

In the following volume, which gives only a subordinate place to merely personal experiences in travel, some of the salient points are :—

1. A plan of Study during a Tour of the World.
2. An estimate of the Present Forces of Agnosticism and Materialism and of Christian Theism in England.
3. A study of the New Criticism of the Old Testament, with a notice of the views of Professor Delitzsch on that topic.
4. An examination of the Position of the German State Church and of the German Universities, especially with reference to the downfall of the Mythical Theory and the Decline of Rationalism.
5. A review of recent German discussions for and against the claims of Spiritualism.
6. A lecture in London on the Relations of the Temperance Reform to Civil Liberty, notices of the contrasts between American and Foreign Temperance Creeds.
7. A study of Christian Missions in their world-wide Relations to Current Events.
8. A defence of the principles of Civil Service Reform.
9. A reply to the defenders of the theory of Probation after Death.

10. A study of Advanced Thought in Italy and Greece, with a lecture on a Night on the Acropolis; or, Art and History at Athens.

As the matter in the Preludes refers to current reform, the expressions of the audiences, whether favorable or unfavorable, are retained as recorded by the stenographer; but these have been omitted in the Lectures, as the latter have been considerably revised and enlarged since delivery.

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I.

ADVANCED THOUGHT IN ENGLAND AND
SCOTLAND,

WITH A PRELUDE ON

NEW DEPARTURES IN AND FROM ORTHODOXY.

THE ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTY-FIRST LECTURE IN THE
BOSTON MONDAY LECTURESHIP, DELIVERED IN
TREMONT TEMPLE, JANUARY 8, 1883.

“The decisive fact is this : The God-Man, who came for the purpose of seeking and saving the lost, has taught more imperatively than any other one that men who are lost when they die are lost forever.” — PROFESSOR PARK, *Discourse at North Andover*, 1880, p. 30.

“Those of the early fathers who held the doctrine of an intermediate place made no practical distinction between the condition of the soul previous to the resurrection and its condition after it. The wicked were miserable and the good were happy — and that eternally.” — PROFESSOR SHEDD, *History of Christian Doctrine*, vol. ii. p. 410.

“Once a mighty, warlike power, rushing from the Atlantic sea, spread itself with hostile fury over all Europe and Asia. That sea, indeed, was then navigable, and had an island fronting that mouth which you in your tongue call the Pillars of Hercules ; and this island was larger than Libya and Asia put together, and there was a passage hence for travellers of that day to the rest of the islands, as well as from those islands to the whole opposite Continent. . . . In this Atlantic island was formed a powerful league of kings, who subdued the entire island, together with many others, and parts also of the Continent, besides which they subjected also to their rule the inland parts of Libya as far as Egypt, and Europe, also, as far as Tyrrhenia. . . . Subsequently, however, through violent earthquakes and deluges, which brought desolation in a single day and night, . . . the Atlantic island was plunged beneath the sea and entirely disappeared ; whence even now, that sea is neither navigable nor to be traced out.” — *The Timæus*, Plato, vol. ii. pp. 328, 329. Bohn’s edition.

“I spoke as I saw,
I report, as a man may of God’s work. All’s Love, yet all’s Law.
Now I lay down the judgeship He lent me. Each faculty tasked,
To perceive Him, has gained an abyss where a dewdrop was asked.”

ROBERT BROWNING.

OCCIDENT.

PRELUDE I.

NEW DEPARTURES IN AND FROM ORTHODOXY.

GIVE me no guess for a dying pillow. Let my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth and my right arm drop from its socket rather than that either should be employed in putting under the head of any man, woman, or child, as a support in death, a mere conjecture, however plausible, which may nevertheless prove to be false. The hypothesis of probation after death is such a treacherous conjecture. It belongs to the Siren school of philosophy and theology. So to teach it as to cause men to depend upon it is to do a mischief possibly more horrible than to spread pestilence, firebrands, and death. In God's name and presence, let us purify ourselves from complicity with such venturesomeness as may end in the ruin of souls. For one, I have made up my mind that I will not go hence trusting my own chances of eternal peace to the opportunity of repentance after death. What I will not do for myself I will not, directly or indirectly, recommend others to do.

God's opinions ought to be ours. What are the opinions of Him who is the same yesterday, to-day, and forever as to new departures in regard to truths fundamental in religion? There are a few self-evident religious truths, as unchangeable as the very nature of things. They are certainties, not probabilities, not guesses. Self-evident axiomatic truth has no variableness nor shadow of turning. It reveals God's opinions. It is He.

It is a self-evident axiomatic truth that every man must be delivered from the love of sin and the guilt of it in order to obtain harmonization with his environment by the infinite holiness of the moral law. Call hither Keshub Chunder Sen from the bank of the Ganges, Fukuzawa from Japan, Herbert Spencer from the Thames, the soul of Gambetta from the Seine, — I care not what agnostic or what cultured pagan theist, — and we shall all be agreed that deliverance from the love of sin and the guilt of it is essential to our peace with the moral law. On the two most fundamental points of what I love to call axiomatic theology, or the religion of self-evident truth, all serious men who believe in a moral law may be brought to an acceptance of a cosmopolitan faith. I confess I have some ambition to advance such a faith, and to hold as the basis of my own creed convictions acceptable to all thinking men throughout the world and in every age. On the basis of the cosmopolitan truths of axiomatic theology I have been standing on every intellectual and moral battle-field I have seen on the long war-path around the planet. The double deliverance from the

love of sin and the guilt of it is the desire of all nations. The serious heart of humanity has never found intelligent peace in any human creed, but finds it swiftly in Christianity, when the gospel is presented in clear, devout, scholarly, aggressive, undiluted form.

As Christians, we believe that it is only by the new birth and by the Atonement that we can be delivered from the love of sin and the guilt of it. We are profoundly convinced that, when we are delivered from the love of sin, we are not thereby delivered from the guilt of it. We believe that it is the sight of God's face in Christ that effectually melts the heart and produces regeneration. What we, therefore, wish to do for the world is to lift up before it the cross, because we find that when we see the cross it is no cross to bear the cross. Beholding God as a Redeemer makes us glad to take Him as Lord, and thus Christianity provides for our deliverance from the guilt of sin and the love of it.

It is undeniable that character under irreversible natural law tends to final permanence — good or bad. The longer any soul lives in the love of what God hates and in the hate of what God loves, the longer it is likely to do so. Fixation of character is the end of probation. Whenever and wherever an unchanging bent of character is attained, probation ends. It is self-evident that a final permanence or unchanging bent of character can be reached but once.

The only safe philosophical answer, therefore, to the question : What must I do to be saved ? is : Ac-

quire now similarity of feeling with God. Obtain now deliverance from both the love of sin and the guilt of sin. Now is the accepted time; now is the day of salvation; now, and perhaps not to-morrow, for character, without the loss of freedom, tends rapidly to permanence.

Whatever changes the accredited practical answer to the question: What must I do to be saved? is fundamental in theology and philosophy. The hypothesis of probation after death does change this answer. It changes the scriptural answer. It changes the philosophical answer. It is, therefore, a fundamental change. In the name of all sound philosophy and theology, as well as in that of the wants of the world, I repudiate departures from religious fundamentals. I repudiate departures from doctrines that look like unessentials, if these apparent unessentials touch fundamentals.

My object in this opening address is to set before you as clearly as I can what the standard orthodoxy of New England teaches as to probation after death; and, next, what the so-called new departure teaches. In a subsequent prelude I shall discuss exegetically the question, "Does death end probation?" Here and now I am anxious only that you should compare, in broad outlines, the old and the new. I am in favor of the new. One of my central principles is to seize the new, the true, the strategic, and force it into practical application to current affairs. I am ready, I hope, in life and in death, to grasp the new, if it be better than the old; otherwise not. [Applause.]

Professor Dorner, of Berlin, whom I revere for the larger part of the work he has done in German theology, holds doctrines and hypotheses concerning probation after death that many scholars of the highest repute regard as exceedingly nebulous, erratic, unscientific, and anti-scriptural. Allow me to summarize his positions on this topic, and to contrast them with those I have received from New England Orthodoxy. I raise the question, New England Orthodoxy or German state church theology: which? Park or Dorner: which? That is a question of the hour, and it is really one of world-wide interest, because this high theme touches Christian missions. It touches all evangelical religious aggressiveness throughout the earth. On this subject Germany, England, Scotland, India, Japan, Australasia, as well as our own land, may be expected to listen.

Here, then, is the outline of what I, for one, not claiming to represent others, hold as orthodoxy: —

1. God is immanent in the moral nature of every man, and whoever permanently rejects or accepts the innermost voice of conscience rejects or accepts the essential Christ.

By the essential Christ I mean the Logos. “In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God.” This is the true light which lighteth every man that cometh into the world.

2. Every free moral agent, therefore, has opportunity to accept or reject the essential Christ.

Orthodoxy is not tritheistic, although it is trinitarian. Scholars on this platform do not believe in

three Gods, but in one God. They do not divide his substance, although they do not unify his subsistencies. The essential character of God is the essential character of Christ. Conscience does not inform us of the historic Christ, but it informs us of God's character, and God's character is Christ's character. I would recall here whatever has been said in the past of this lectureship concerning conscience as a revelation in man of truths essentially supernatural.

3. Heathen, therefore, as their consciences reveal to them the essential condition of salvation, so far as it depends on man, have a probation as protracted and multiplex as their choices to obey or disobey conscience.

While this is plainly a philosophical, it is also a scriptural truth. "In every nation, he that feareth God and worketh righteousness is accepted with Him." "The kingdom of heaven is within us." "They that sin without law shall perish without law." The heathen, "having not the law, are a law unto themselves, their consciences bearing witness and their thoughts accusing or else excusing one another."

4. It is through the divine mercy, as exhibited in an Atonement, that the heathen are saved, if at all, without hearing of the historical Christ.

"Those who lived with the Logos," said Justin Martyr, "were Christians, as Socrates and Heraclitus, and others like them."

5. They who fear God and work righteousness, even if they have not heard of the historical Christ,

have *holy faith*, and this would develop into historical *saving faith* on the presentation of evidence.

This distinction between holy faith and saving faith is to be found in accredited scholarly systems of theology. Plato or Socrates, if saved, was saved by the Atonement, God's mercy covering their guilt for Christ's sake. So infants know nothing of the historical Christ, and yet are saved by the Atonement, God's arm undergirding them in the darkness.

Do not say that I am supposing that a man is saved by his good works. Do not imagine that I teach that accepting the guidance of God in conscience is, for a man in the condition of any one in this audience, a sufficient proof of his loyalty to God. Do not say that I teach that man saves himself. At this point I am speaking only of those to whom no presentation of the historic Christ has been made, but whose consciences alone, according to both Scripture and science, are a divine guide to the way of peace.

6. Human nature is such, however, that without the influence of the gospel, only a few among millions do attain deliverance from the love of sin, acquire real harmony with the moral law, and accept gladly, permanently, and unqualifiedly the essential Christ of conscience.

7. A knowledge of the character, life, and death of the historic Christ must therefore be carried to the heathen and to the whole world.

8. This formal presentation of the historic Christ immensely increases human responsibility, and also, as the history of the Christian ages shows, the force

of the motives which deliver men from the love of sin.

9. It is a searching self-evident truth, which cannot be too often emphasized, that men must be delivered both from the love of sin and from the guilt of it, in order to have peace in presence of infinite holiness.

10. Christianity, and it only of all the religions of the earth, teaches how deliverance from the love of sin may be effected by the new birth, and from the guilt of sin through an Atonement, without the violation of any self-evident truth.

11. It is the sight of an Atonement which is the chief force in producing the new birth. Beholding God as a historic Saviour makes us glad to take Him as Lord, and therefore the preaching of the gospel to all the world is the supreme work of those who would deliver the world from the love of sin and the guilt of it.

12. Every man who is a free agent and has a conscience has a fair chance in this life to accept or reject the essential Christ.

13. Every man who, in addition to these opportunities, is taught in this life the gospel of the historical Christ, has more than a fair chance.

14. Infants, idiots, lunatics, are not moral agents; they have not sinned. The least we can say of any souls that pass out of this life without attaining moral responsibility is that they are in the hands of the Judge of all the earth, who will assuredly do right. They have no record of sin behind them, and the divine mercy enfolds them. As they have not

learned the evils of sin, it is to be hoped that in death, at the sight of God's face, they will acquire predominant harmony of soul with Him. That a state of education and progress may await such souls in another life is not denied.

Nothing in these propositions is to be understood as impugning the doctrine of original sin or inherited evil propensity. I am using the word "sin" in its strict signification, as indicating evil personal choice.

15. Probation in its strict sense ends at death.

Orthodox theology teaches that even the lost souls of the universe are free agents. They retain ability, but have lost willingness to repent. If a soul is not a free agent, it cannot be virtuous or vicious. In one sense, therefore, probation continues forever with all souls. But in the strict sense probation means a state in which souls do, and not merely may, change from an undecided to a decided condition of loyalty or disloyalty to God. Orthodoxy teaches that these changes occur only in this life.

16. Every responsible human being, by the gift of a free will and conscience, or by this gift and that of the knowledge of the gospel besides, having had a fair chance, or more than a fair chance, the divine love and mercy are not questionable; a perfect theodicy is possible; the ways of God to men are justified.

In contrast with this outline, I give now a very swift sketch of the new departure, based chiefly on the state church theology of Germany, or, rather, on the eschatology of Dorner.

1. An acceptance or rejection of the historic Christ is necessary in every case to salvation or its opposite.

2. Decisive probation consists in the opportunity of the soul freely and intelligently to accept or reject the historic Christ.

3. Those who die without a knowledge of the gospel have not had a full and fair probation.

4. Infants, idiots, lunatics, and some heathen have evidently no opportunity in this life to accept or reject the historic Christ; for they know nothing of him.

5. As these classes have no decisive probation here, it is permissible to hope that they have one hereafter.

6. In the intermediate state, between death and the general judgment, probation may continue for souls to whom a presentation of the historic Christ was not made in this life.

7. These views offer a better theodicy — that is, a more complete justification of the ways of God to men — than the accepted and standard teaching of orthodoxy.

Any friends of the new departure who are present will notice that I am very careful not to exaggerate the breadth of the departure. I do not affirm that the apologists for these divisive novelties teach that it is permissible to inculcate as a biblical dogma that certain classes of souls must have a probation hereafter, and that, if they do not, no justification of the ways of God to men is possible. They do say that it is permissible to hope that such probation lies in the intermediate state, and that we must insist on

this hope if we are to cherish worthy ideas of the divine character.

Where does Dorner teach what these seven propositions contain? In a score of passages of his "Systematic Theology," especially in the section on Eschatology, which I beg you to examine, if you are in doubt as to the source from which several recent American suggestions as to new theological departures have been derived. (See the original German, or the translation in T. & T. Clark's Theological Library of "Dorner's System of Christian Doctrine," vol. iv. pp. 373-434. See, also, an article on "Dr. Dorner's Position with Regard to Probation after Death," by the Rev. W. H. Cobb, in the "Bibliotheca Sacra" for October, 1882, pp. 751-773.) Here is a characteristic passage from Dorner: "The absoluteness of Christianity demands that no one be judged before Christianity has been made accessible and brought home to him; but this is not the case in this life with millions of human beings. Nay, even within the Church there are periods and circles where the gospel does not really approach men as that which it is. Moreover, those dying in childhood have not been able to decide personally for Christianity. Jesus seeks the lost. The lost are to be sought also in the kingdom of the dead. The opposite view leads to an absolute decree of rejection in reference to all who have died and die as heathen; whereas Christian grace is universal." ("System of Christian Doctrine," vol. iv. p. 409.)

Who that has learned what a scholarly orthodoxy really teaches does not see at a glance that these

propositions are inaccurate, confused, misleading, and, to an appalling degree, spiritually hazardous?

1. The new departure begins with a most atrociously incorrect statement concerning the essential condition of salvation.

2. It gives a false definition of what constitutes a full and fair probation.

3. A first blunder leads to a second, and then a third is made to cover the second, and a fourth to cover the third. An inaccurate statement peculiar to many state church theologies as to the essential condition of salvation leads to a difficulty in vindicating the divine justice. In view of this difficulty, which ought never to have existed, the theory of a continued probation is adopted as a means of escape. Here, as elsewhere, orthodoxy begins right and ends right in its fundamental courses of thought, while heterodoxy begins wrong and ends wrong.

Our fathers had much discussion over the doctrine of decrees; and, indeed, it is a wonder that we do not have more, for whoever looks into the mighty themes of a theodicy must regard election, decrees, foreordination, free will, fate, the matters concerning which the angels debated in Milton's "Paradise Lost," as really supreme topics of philosophy as well as of religious science. Our thoughts are absorbed by secular matters; otherwise we should be awake, as our fathers were, to the great problems involved in election. As to the salvation of elect infants only, scholarship has passed by this doctrine a long while. The new departure is really a reversion to a mediæval form of theological speculation. This teach-

ing of Dorner's seems to me almost as atrocious as the worst form of the old doctrine concerning decrees.

4. I understand Dorner to deny that there is any sin that can ruin the soul, except a rejection of the historic Christ, proclaimed in the name of the miracles of the New Testament, or in that of proof of yet superior force to be presented after death. Evidence, of course, must go with the proclamation; and, if such evidence is not brought decisively home to the soul here, it will be in the next world.

5. This series of propositions underrates what is scientifically known in our day as to the natural operations of conscience. It is hugely unscientific to suppose that, even without a knowledge of the historic Christ, a soul may not so disobey conscience as to drop into a condition of moral obduracy, and attain a final permanence of character dissimilar to that of God. *It is necessary for Dorner to maintain, and he does assert, that without a knowledge of the historic Christ no soul can sin as to be lost.*

6. It is spiritually hazardous, in an appalling degree, to give, as Dorner does, such definitions of what a full and decisive probation is that few men will think they have had a fair chance, and then to promise, on most easy and liberal conditions, a continued probation.

7. In practical effect, the distorted orthodoxy here opposed has always immensely injured all churches that have adopted it. The great Scottish missionary, Duff, said that the life of the German state churches can be described in one word, — petrification. This

is not true of all of them, for there are many vigorous evangelical churches in Germany; but, so far as Dorner's eschatology, so far as this idea of probation after death, has been brought into working influence over great congregations, so far as it has been absorbed into the lives of preachers or people, it has destroyed Christian aggressiveness in a great degree. It has lowered the tone of preaching. It has cut the nerve of missions. It has as good as scuttled the ships that carry the glad tidings of the gospel to pagan lands. I have no lamp to guide my feet but that of experience.

Do you complain that I am now speaking with implied irreverence for German scholarship, and that I have hitherto had the habit of treating it with the utmost respect? No one ever heard me speak of German theology in its relations to the mass of the people as other than inferior to New England Orthodoxy. Our churches are as superior to the German in their aggressive power, and in the preachableness of their doctrines, as German learning in matters of philosophical and scientific import is superior to ours. The German universities are better than ours; but our churches are better than the German. Our preaching is better than theirs. Professor Christlieb, of Bonn, with whom I had the honor, not long ago, to hold many hours of conversation on the banks of the Rhine, has assailed the German state church theology for precisely the things that are copied out of it by some of the friends of the new departure. I am careful to say, however, that I discuss Dorner's views only, and not those of any preacher or theolo-

gian here. Christlieb teaches, with the emphasis of scriptural truth, the new birth and Atonement. He insists that we must be delivered from the love of sin and the guilt of it. And what do the state church preachers say, in reply? "*Bei uns ist es nicht so!*" "With us there is no such preaching. Why be perpetually disturbing the churches with the doctrine of the new birth, and with assertions of the vicarious nature of the Atonement? Our convictions are that whoever lives about right will come out right, and that, if there be no decisive probation here, there will be one hereafter."

This idea, that decisive probation consists always and only in the free, intelligent rejection of the historic Christ, cannot be opposed without great danger. I run enormous risks in attacking it here to-day, for I shall be quoted as saying that I do not believe that Christ is the author of our salvation. I shall be quoted as saying that whoever follows his conscience is safe, whether he believes in Christ or not. Do not be misled by any such random assertions of people who are not in this assembly from week to week and year to year.

Our salvation is wrought through Christ, and through Him only. If I were not a believer in the historic Christ, I could find in philosophy no peace for my soul; for I think I know, as well as that I am alive, that I must be delivered from the love of sin and the guilt of it, and that when I am delivered from the love of it I am not from the guilt of it. I want an Atonement. I want the sight of the cross to melt me and produce in my soul the new birth.

Without the cross, philosophy is to me a Gehenna for the soul, because it shows that of all creatures we are the most miserable. We have sinned; the record is against us in the past; but there is no remedy for our guilt. In practice, only they who perceive that God is inconceivably merciful, or that He is ready to cover our guilt with an Atonement, come into affectionate, total, irreversible loyalty to Him. To take God as Saviour and choose Him as Lord, — this is faith; this is what makes a man faithful. If Christianity is not to be given us as the basis of hope for deliverance from the love of sin and the guilt of it, I have no hope of such deliverance. Nevertheless, I hold what I conceive to be the biblical doctrine: that if there be a Cornelius who has not heard of the historic Christ, but who fears God and works righteousness, he is accepted of God through an Atonement. It is Revelation which affirms that they who sin without law shall perish without law.

I am not a partisan in theology. I have great reverence for many who admire the German state church theology; but while I respect them as men, I do not agree to follow them as theological leaders. I believe we have better leadership at home on this matter than we can obtain at present in Germany. They who follow Dorner's eschatology, and reject average New England, Scottish, and even Anglican teaching on this topic of probation after death, are like men who go abroad to see the Alps and the Himalayas, the Nile and the Ganges, and have never seen the American Great Lakes, the Yosemite, and

Niagara. We have discussed this topic of probation, probably, more thoroughly in New England than it was ever discussed in Germany. I believe New England theology has now a right to stand upon its record of scholarly discussions, and rise to its full height of self-respect and earnestness, and lead the world into biblical views on these colossal themes. [Applause.] There never was open to it a better opportunity for such service. Scotch theology is pre-occupied at this moment with questions of Old Testament criticism. English theology is having its attention distracted by the swift advance of great problems connected with disestablishment. Materialism is occupying the attention of many abroad. Agnosticism, historic skepticism, are matters of more present importance than this new departure. But with us there seems to be a providential call for the discussion of eschatology.

I have no right to give advice to anybody, but what I purpose to do, for one, is to claim liberty for scholarly and advanced views whenever mediæval and reversionary views try to throttle them. You say that the men who hold the doctrines of the new departure do not preach them. But if they hold these doctrines they do not preach the orthodox ones. [Laughter.] And just as a man may be choked by holding a little heresy, so a whole church may be choked by one section of it looking exceedingly grave, perhaps indignant, if the other section preaches orthodoxy without dilution. I will not say that I would have every church member who holds these views of Dorner turned out of his connections; but

I would have every applicant for a preacher's position very candidly examined on this matter. [Applause.] I think I may venture to say that it is safe to agree with Andover and Boston in the proposition that a man who definitely champions Dorner's eschatology is not precisely the person to teach our young men theological science. [Applause.] This audience represents evangelical Christendom. You are not Congregationalists merely, and I beg your pardon for touching on the troubles of the small denomination to which it is my fortune to belong. I have been speaking so long for all the evangelical denominations that I hardly know whether I am a Congregationalist, a Methodist, a Baptist, an Episcopalian, or a Presbyterian. The real truth is that the foundation of Congregationalism is Plymouth Rock, and that this rock is not disintegrating nor splitting. [Applause.] A little dust is being blown off it, but it never belonged to the rock. [Loud laughter and applause.]

LECTURE I.

ADVANCED THOUGHT IN ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND.

GOD be thanked that in our time there are no foreign lands ! Cæsar could not drive around the Roman Empire in less than one hundred days ; we can now send a letter, a bale of goods, a man, around the whole globe in ninety. The antipodes are not farther from us than were the outskirts of the Roman Empire from the city of the Seven Hills. If Cæsar's neighbors were all who dwelt on the rim of the Mediterranean, ours are all who dwell on the rim of the whole earth. Communication is so swift between country and country that no shores are distant. There can be no more hermit nations. No people can live behind a screen. The mental seclusion of false faiths must be broken up. Only an hundred years ago and in all previous history, the nations were land-locked bodies of water ; a wave raised in any one of them did not naturally flow into another ; but the levels of civilization have risen ; these isolated lakes have flowed together ; and now any great wave raised anywhere in commerce, science, politics, education, or religion, breaks sooner or later, in foam and thunder, on all the shores of the advanced nations. We cannot cut ourselves off from the other side of the globe ; humanity is a unit, com-

mercially, scientifically, socially, industrially, almost politically, to-day. Hereafter the earth will be healed or poisoned very much as a whole. The isolation of people from people is becoming wholly and permanently impracticable. The light of the Occident cannot be hidden from the Orient. The national era has passed away; the international and cosmopolitan has begun.

In the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel, at Rome, Michael Angelo has represented the creation of the first human soul. The picture exhibits a Divine Form floating in infinite space, and extending a hand toward the upraised palm of Adam. The man lies almost prone upon the earth. He is a body, but not yet a soul. Although the members of his form are complete, symmetrical, majestic, they do not yet feel their unity with each other. A spark passes from the divine forefinger to the suppliant, limp, passive hand of man. The different members of his form are at last unified. They possess a living soul, which is one and indivisible. This picture is a proper emblem of the present condition of the world. The nations are the different members of the body of humanity, and yet they are not unified by a common soul. What is lacking is a cosmopolitan faith, a divine spark, making the innermost convictions of the nations the same on all high themes. As I study the signs of the heavens and the earth, the uplifted suppliant hand of humanity, a body not yet thoroughly vitalized, is being approached by a Form loftier than the stars. A Divine Hand is being extended toward our race; nay, has been extended

for thousands of years, but in these last ages is becoming more distinctly visible than ever before. I anticipate the passage of a unifying spark from the Divine Hand to the form of humanity, not yet unified; the transmission of an electric flame, a vivifying faith, a series of scientific convictions concerning things natural and supernatural, that will make the world intellectually and morally one. This spark will be, of course, a scholarly and aggressive Christianity in both its historical and its experimental form. With it there will be united all accredited science, for God is one and all truth is one. A scientific supernaturalism is a phrase by which I like to describe the unified teachings of Christianity and science. And it is this on the passage of which from God's finger to man's I look with awe, as the greatest thing I have seen in my tour around the world, and the greatest thing I can promote by any review of my experience.

My heart is on the Ganges; it is on the Thames; it is in the great cities within the shadow of Fujisan; it is in the islands of the sea; it is under the Southern Cross. I am attached to every country in which I have found men struggling toward the light. But my heart, although there, is here also, for we are a part of this dull, lethargic body, not yet filled by the divine electric force. In the growing spiritual unity of the whole human family, I would have the head feel its responsibility. The Occident is the head of the earth and the right hand of it. Nearest to God, let us transmit the spark of scientific supernaturalism into the civilization of the whole

planet, and so make its reclining form stand upon its feet and worship God.

It is the morning of September 7, 1880, and you are in New York harbor, leaving your native country, on the day when it is announced, officially, that it has 50,000,000 inhabitants. The gray sky, the familiar shores, the untried experience before you, the parting from scores of friends, make the hour pathetic. You are wrenched at last from the firm mother earth ; you have seen the last quivering, intense look of farewell on the faces of some who are nearest and dearest to you. The white gulls dip their wings in the sea, and utter their low plaintive cry in the autumnal wind. You are more lonely than they. You have made no predictions ; you know not what is to be your experience ; perhaps you may be called home within a few months ; you have promised no one that you will make the circuit of the globe. As the gates of the ocean open and you begin to hear the voice of the great deep, you have a feeling that, possibly, you are looking for the last time on America. You lean over the gunwale with one dearer to you than life, and repeat the words of a German poet : —

“ Flow fair beside thy Palisades,
O Hudson, fair and free,
Past proud Manhattan’s shore of ships
And green Hoboken’s tree.

“ The white sails gleam along the main.
God bless the land, say we ;
'T is a good land to fall in with,
And a pleasant land to see.”

Undoubtedly the innumerable forms and motions

of waves, the foam with its endless varieties of tracery and movement, and the reflected light with its multitudinous colors and sparkles and its far-flashing glades of fire, are the most beautiful things visible at sea; the rainbows, the stars, the changing moon, the sun, the shoreless horizons, the storms, the most sublime. Beauty is so interwoven with sublimity in the sea that the ocean as a whole is a series of musical notes of immeasurable depth of tone overlaid by a net-work of finer harmony, as, in a great anthem in a cathedral, the tones of the organ are overlaid by the soft chanting of human voices. The green translucency of the crest of a wave before it breaks is in itself one of the most marvelous of the minor beauties of the sea; but that translucency laced with foam and crossed by sunlight and shadow in alternation, and the whole in motion, is incapable of being transferred to canvas even by Ruskin's eyes and Turner's pencils. It happens, at times, as a ship falls from the crest to the hollow of a wave, that the prow, or, it may be, a whole side, dashes up a cloud of light spray as white as snow. According to the position of the sun, this bank of flakes takes the glory of reflected or of transmitted radiance; and by its lightness and almost spirit-like life gives to the whole heavy ship its own atmosphere, until the massive hull and spars seem things of spirit too, and float between sky and sea as if a vision. At sunset or sunrise in a clear sky at sea, when the disc of the great orb is nearly withdrawn from sight behind a watery horizon full of hurrying waves, the motion of the distant billows across the face of the sun

seems transferred to the sun itself, which appears for a few seconds flattened and flying along the rim of the restless deep. Its flame and its emptiness make the poetry of this ocean fire canoe. It has no occupant, no oar, no sail, but is a perfect boat of dazzling radiance, shooting with incredible rapidity along the tossing edge of the empurpled and golden waves.

England over the bow; America over the taffrail; Greenland, Iceland, Norway, to the left; South America, Africa, Spain, France, to the right, you stand alone on your ship's deck at midnight, at the centre of the Atlantic, and behold in thought human life in multitudinous aspects and nature in all her zones. The whole history of western civilization rises naturally before you, and you are brought into strange sympathy with all the lands which the ocean touches. The rolling of the ship in a heavy swell gives the masts a stately motion among the constellations. This swaying of the spars and yards across the sky like gigantic pointers has a wild look, as the sweep of the reeling timbers runs from Cassiopea's chair almost down to the Pleiades. Under the brass hoods of the binnacles hang the compass-cards beneath the strong light of lamps, and your ship threads the black, tumultuous sea with a sure movement by the mystic guidance of the magnetic needle. But, in the four quarters of the world toward which you look in the seething darkness, you behold generations of men passing through the vexed sea of history not altogether with a sure movement. They are not easily able to free themselves from the tortures of pathlessness by looking at the moral and intellectual needles

hung beneath the binnacles and under the strong lamps of the boasted culture of our times. It is hardly lawful to utter all that obtains a voice in the soul in the supreme moments of solitude. "Fixed ideas about God and human nature," says De Tocqueville, "are indispensable to the daily practice of men's lives, but the practice of their lives prevents them from acquiring such ideas. The difficulty appears to be without a parallel." (De Tocqueville, "Democracy in America," vol. ii. book i. chap. v.) You meditate long on this difficulty, as you look toward past, present, and future generations on north, south, east, and west. The frozen seas, the torrid seas, the sunrise, the sunset, the night, throw back upon you the deepest human problems in your solitude in mid-ocean. In the region called Conscience in the human soul, when the laws of the spiritual portion of human nature are better understood, will be found a moral needle related to all the universe by spiritual meridians, and as sensitive as those of the most trembling compass, and no more subject to variation, and making the safe circumnavigation of the darkest zones of duty and history at last a possibility of fixed science. Your prayer is that God may send into the world a complete knowledge of the moral magnetic needle and a correct chart of all the oceans of the human soul. Mental science in its ethical portions has yet greater advances to make than navigation made at the discovery of the mariner's compass.

Crossing the Atlantic, you are intensely interested not only in what is on it, and in it, and beyond it,

but in what is under it. Scholars begin to whisper strange things about the lost Atlantis, of which the Azores are the remnants. You are told that Occident and Orient had their mother in this lost Atlantis. In the progress of ancient ages, the civilization of Egypt seems to spring into existence, like Minerva from the head of Jupiter, full panoplied from the start. But you find that a few investigators begin to dream that Egypt was probably colonized from Atlantis, a mighty island, as large as Australia, lying off the mouth of the Mediterranean, at Gibraltar. You read in Plato of Atlantis colonizing not merely Europe, but Africa and portions of Asia and parts of the continent beyond Atlantis, toward the sunset. You raise the question whether the cities of Central America, some of which to this day have the same names to a letter with certain cities in Asia Minor, may not have originated in this now submerged island. Plato represents Solon as learning in Egypt that Atlantis sank beneath the sea in a single night. (See the "Timæus," 25; or Jowett's "Translation of the Dialogues of Plato," vol. iii. pp. 609, 610.) You remember that Guyot and other physical geographers affirm that the Azores lie in a zone of fracture of the crust of our earth. The small waist of our own continent, the rifted lands between which the Mediterranean lies, the Isthmus of Suez, the promontories and islands of Southern Asia and the East Indies, show this to have been a line of terrific upheavals and depressions. Leaning over your ship's gunwale at the middle of the Atlantic, you look into the ocean, and ask whether the best subject left

in modern times for an epic poem is not Plato's lost Atlantis. A few months later you are in Athens, and meet Dr. Schliemann, in his Greek mansion and museum. You say to him, "You have uncovered Troy; why do you not dredge for the lost Atlantis, of which Plato speaks?" And the doctor replies, with the enthusiasm of a classical scholar, "Where is the passage in the 'Timæus'? I will read it before I sleep." A score of books (see "Atlantis; or, the Antediluvian World," by Ignatius Donnelly, a volume valuable chiefly for its references) have lately appeared, defending the Atlantidean theory of the origin of that mysterious semi-civilization which founded the cities of which the ruins remain to astonish us in Central America. Perhaps the unknown mound-builders of the Mississippi Valley were degenerate representatives of a forgotten Aztec race, originating in a lost Atlantis.

Probably the Atlantidean theory has been supported so effectually by the discoveries of the ship Challenger that when put forward only as a theory it will never be quite laughed at again. The ship Challenger has assured the world that a submerged continental island lies underneath the middle Atlantic. Strangely close resemblances are found to exist between the plant and animal life of the Azores and of the nearest coasts of Brazil. One speculation is that this mighty island went down when the windows of heaven were opened and the fountains of the great deep were broken up, in the time of the Deluge, and that the representative of the race, Noah, being carried with his family in the ark away from the scene

of ruin, began the peopling of the valley of the Euphrates. The zone of fracture in the earth, the traditions of many nations as to the Deluge, point, it is claimed, to the sinking of Atlantis. I do not indorse this speculation by any means; but you are crossing the Atlantic, and it is necessary that you should be not merely not sea-sick, but not sick of the sea. You are beginning a tour around the world, and must beware of narrowing your outlook over the past. I would have your historic vistas go back, not to Greece and Rome merely, not to the Nile and the Ganges and no farther, not to those mysterious early seats of the Aryan population on the slopes between the Himalayas and the Caspian, without question as to what was the yet earlier home of the foremost portion of the human race. I would have the vistas of your retrospect go back to the unknown origin of the Egyptian and Aryan civilization. Somewhere man must have been developed through ages into the use of lofty standards in most matters before the Egyptian civilization could have sprung forth. It is certainly not incredible at all that Orient and Occident had their mother in the lost Atlantis. England is the mother of America; Germany and Scandinavia at large are the mother of England; Asia Minor is the mother of Germany; the Assyrian slope, between the Himalayas and the Caspian, is the mother of Asia Minor, and, in some sense, of Greece and Italy; but the mother of that slope and of Egypt is, possibly, Atlantis. The mother of Atlantis is Almighty Providence. Here, then, at the very outset of the voyage, we put a girdle around

the earth, and begin to perceive that all men are of one blood, as far east, at least, as Calcutta.

In response to invitation sent to you before leaving America, you give courses of lectures under most fortunate circumstances in London, Edinburgh, Glasgow, Birmingham, Manchester, Dublin, Belfast. You make, in the course of nine months, some one hundred and thirty-five public appearances in the British Islands. Nine out of ten of your audiences are a great surprise to you in point of their quantity as well as of their quality. You venture to hope that perhaps you are not entirely throwing away your life, for conscienceless cormorants among the publishers of London scatter thirteen different editions of your books around your path. Your chief usefulness is in harrowing in this spiritual seed. It is not scattered by any agency or hint of yours. You have not the slightest financial interest in the speculations of the London publishing thieves. Nevertheless, on the whole, you are grateful to them for giving you an opportunity to be heard through the printed page, as well as by the voice. Your experience in this particular continues the same in Bombay, Calcutta, and Madras, and even in Shanghai and Yokohama. Under the Southern Cross, especially in Sydney, Melbourne, and Adelaide, the most brilliant group of cities in the Southern Hemisphere, you find this sprinkled coating,—for no other word will adequately describe the result of the activity of the cormorants,—this covering of the furrowed earth with seed of unauthorized editions of your books, continuing to be a part of your outlook and the chief source

of your usefulness. You authorize a complete edition by a most reputable London publisher, but no protection can be had for it in the present state of international law as to copyright, and it is probably outsold by the unauthorized copies. Your discussions in Boston are followed by the efforts of distinguished men. The book which comes before the world as the result of their course of lectures in the Boston Monday Lectureship goes around the world. You are absent from a certain platform, but the men who occupy it while you are gone are heard to the ends of the earth, and you buy under the Southern Cross English editions of their lectures. "A Calm View of Temperance," by a university chancellor, turns out to be a calm before a storm. You read the reply of the prince of all living orators, Mr. Phillips, — God bless him! — and this answer, printed in the English editions, side by side with the Calm View, swallows it as the rod of Moses swallowed the rods of the magicians.

Your object abroad is not so much to visit places as men. Your main purpose is to find out what advanced thought really is in the different nations you study. You are most interested in their religious and intellectual condition, their philosophical tendencies, their gradual approach to the Divine Hand from which must come the spark that is to unify humanity.

How are you to ascertain what advanced thought is in any nation? Usually in five ways: —

1. By approaching, if possible, without questions, closely enough to the real leaders of thought to hear

their heartbeats; to examine, in some sense, their spiritual pulses; and to ascertain on what they secretly depend most in philosophy and faith, in life and at death.

2. By putting copious lists of incisive and comprehensive questions to both progressive and conservative leaders on strategic points, and recording and comparing the answers.

3. By studying the unforced tendencies of educated young men.

4. By applying these tests in many different circles of opposite opinions.

5. By a careful estimate of the amount that enlightened men are willing to sacrifice in time, toil, money, and reputation for the defence of their opinions.

In regard to each of ten departments in the life of every nation which you visit on your tour of the world, you put five questions: —

1. What are the demands of its advanced thought in religion, philanthropic reform, politics, education, philosophy, literature, science, art, industry, and social life?

2. What are the hindrances to the progress of its advanced thought?

3. What would be the future development of the nation if its advanced thought were followed in its own practice?

4. What points in its advanced thought or action are worthy of imitation in other nations?

5. What changes in each nation's character and development would probably result from the fusion

of its own best thought in each of the ten departments with the best of other nations?

Of all these questions perhaps the most interesting to the speculative student is the last, but the answer to it must depend on the utmost accuracy and definiteness in the replies to the others. A full account of what one sees and thinks and feels in a tour of the world would include detailed and vivid answers to all these fifty questions. It would embrace eager studies of the geography and history of every land; the inheritance, achievement, and native endowment of every people; and of every prominent public man, whether now alive or yet influential as a historic spirit brooding above the scene of his earthly labors.

Only glimpses of a few of these fascinating topics can be given within the narrow bounds of one course of lectures. On the land and on the sea your thoughts are full of these inquiries, but only fragments of the answers to them can be presented here and now. You go armed with long lists of questions as lawfully audacious and searching as you can possibly make them; and you put them right and left, sometimes in company and sometimes to individuals. Johnson said a traveller brings home what he carries; but it should be added that, if the traveller carries questions enough, he may bring home immensely more than the questions.

Applying these tests, what do you find to be some of the most suggestive traits of English and Scottish advanced thought?

1. Unflinching demand for the application of the scientific method, that is, of definition and induction, to all subjects, however sacred.

If there be one thing written on the face of our age more clearly than any other, it is that all topics must be submitted to a most thorough scientific examination, whether we make new departures or adhere to old ideas. We must revere the scientific spirit, whether it be radical or conservative in its outcome. You cannot live in England a week, in the more cultured circles, without feeling that you are a ninny and a fool, if you do not believe in the scientific method in its application to the most sacred doctrines of religion and philosophy and art, as well as to politics and social science. Clear ideas at any cost! This is the universal watchword of the Occident. Let us observe, let us define, let us draw inductive conclusions.

2. British advanced thought believes in the frontal more than in the coronal eye of the soul; that is, in logical and Aristotelian more than in spiritual and Platonic methods of searching for truth.

This is a defect of the English mind and of the American. When you reach India, in your tour of the globe, you will find people who believe in their coronal eye; who see God in an intuitive way, as Emerson did. There is very little of this in England, there is very little in Scotland; but I think there is more north of the Tweed than south of it. The Scotch have a window in the dome of their souls; but they have such an immense front window that they are chiefly occupied in gazing out of it. Rarely, except in periods of mighty religious fervor, do Occidentals look steadily and intently aloft through the dome of the soul. They have occasion-

ally thus looked aloft to immense purpose in British religious history; but, in general, Scotchmen, Englishmen, and Americans believe in experience, observation, definition, induction, the scientific method, and nothing else. It is a gross but nearly unconfessed deficiency of Occidental advanced thought, that it studies the Universe almost exclusively through the frontal and hardly at all through the dome-window in the cathedral of the spirit. Only clear ideas and spiritual purposes united can lead us into safe opinions.

3. It is a characteristic of the more cultured circles in England, and especially in Scotland, to ridicule the vagueness, evasiveness, slatternliness, and untenableness of materialistic and agnostic definitions of matter and life.

A distant and careless study of advanced thought in Great Britain may increase, but a close and careful study of it is sure to diminish, your respect for agnosticism and materialism. England, you think, is the home of agnosticism. So it is. The chief defenders of materialism are in Great Britain. But I am profoundly convinced, after conversations with many leaders of philosophical thought in University centres and elsewhere in the British Islands, that really advanced thinking in England is fundamentally anti-materialistic, anti-agnostic, and so really anti-Spencerian. You are sitting one day in Edinburgh, with a company of learned men, at table at dinner, and one of them affirms that Herbert Spencer cannot read German. You think this must be a mistake, and turn to Professor Calderwood, and

inquire, "Is it true? That is a strange assertion." "I have always understood it to be the truth." You ask the views of the whole company, and find that not a man doubts the statement. Agnosticism, as represented by Spencer, has a very poor following north of the Tweed. You are in the study of Lionel Beale, one day, in London, Herbert Spencer's home, and he says, "That man's books contain so much false physiology that they will not be read ten years after his death, except as literary curiosities." And Lionel Beale is supposed to know something of physiology. You are afterward in Germany, and you find that Herbert Spencer is regarded as a bright man, indeed, but by no means as a leader of modern philosophical thought. In short, as compared with Herman Lotze, you hear Herbert Spencer called a charlatan. It pains you not a little to find that your own country has large circles that follow him so loyally. It pains you to find that there is a British materialistic school. You happen to express this view in company to professors of Edinburgh and Glasgow, and one of them turns upon you somewhat sternly, and says, "There is no British materialistic school. Britain includes Scotland and England. There is no Scotch materialistic school. There is no English materialistic school. If there is any materialistic school in these islands, it is a London and a Cockney materialistic school." This is Professor Tait, of Edinburgh. You hear the same sentiment expressed by Professor Veitch, of Glasgow, the biographer of Sir William Hamilton. But there is an Alexander Bain in Scotland, who defines matter, in

the agnostic Spencerian way, as a "double-faced somewhat, physical on one side and spiritual on the other." You ask Lionel Beale what he thinks of this definition, and he says, "It is obvious nonsense." You quote that opinion to Professor Veitch, and Professor Tait, and to a dozen others whom I will not have the pedantry to name, and you find them all repudiating this central key-stone of modern materialistic theories. Herbert Spencer is not spoken of with profound intellectual respect in the circles of the most advanced thought in Scotland, England, and Germany. Do not misunderstand me. This man has immense influence abroad. His scheme of thought is applied to all classes of subjects by a certain arrogant and noisy school of writers. But I am distinguishing between thought advanced enough to be really first class and that which is not more than third or fourth or fifth class.

4. The conviction that we must upset natural law, and teach not that the universe is governed by law, but only that it is governed according to law, is one of the profoundest scientific inspirations which British advanced thought offers to a lofty life.

You are conversing with Lionel Beale in the manner once common in the days of George Combe, and not yet outgrown. "Is it not fortunate," you say, "that this age knows so much of natural law? Ought we not to congratulate ourselves that humanity is coming to some real knowledge of the natural laws of the universe and to a certain loyalty to them?" "Yes," answers this great physiologist; "but what we need most now is somebody to upset

natural law." As Herman Lotze, Sir William Hamilton, Clerk Maxwell, Dr. Carpenter, and a score of others possessing intellectual authority, have taught us, we have no right to say that the Universe is governed by natural laws, but only that it is governed according to natural laws. Natural law, without God's will behind it, is no more than a glove without a hand in it. Natural law is a process, not a power ; a method of operation, not an operator. God is omnipresent in all natural forces, and, as matter cannot move itself, all force must originate outside of matter, — that is, from an omnipresent, infinite Will.

5. Advanced thought in England insists on what Carlyle calls natural supernaturalism.

I was amazed to find so little religious disturbance in British higher circles by agnosticism and materialism. Carlyle represents really advanced thought in this matter. I admit there is enough of the literature of agnosticism abroad ; but, as an editor of a famous London review said, not long since, the articles the agnostics publish are more in the style of military ostentation than of earnest battle. The agnostics and the materialists keep their forces behind the hill of London journalism, and march them around and around the hill ; and you think there is an immense army of them, for you never see the end. Many of our young editors here, a great number of smatterers in philosophy among literary men, and not a few graduates of our universities who have not mastered philosophy, think that the chief sign of the times is the marching of this little army around the top of the London height. It is visible to the

eyes of the young Bengalese, of the young Japanese, of the young Chinese, of the young Australasian, and they far too often think this marching is the mighty tramp of modern progress.

You go to London, you enter university circles, you come into contact with men like Clerk Maxwell, whose "Life" I hold in my hand, and which has just dropped from the press, and you find that this vaunted philosophy, this agnosticism, this semi-materialistic and often practically atheistic speculation, is really not controlling the most advanced thought of the British Islands, and especially not the most advanced thought of Germany. Haeckel is one of the most ridiculed of the learned men in Germany, simply because he is the defender of philosophical materialism. Clerk Maxwell dies when you are in London. Who is he? Let Helmholtz tell you. Who is Helmholtz? Probably the foremost physicist in Germany. You have a conversation with him, months later, while in Germany, and he expresses his general accord with Lotze's principles, and his anxiety that the successor of Lotze should teach the anti-materialistic Lotzian philosophy. Helmholtz goes to London to deliver a eulogy of Clerk Maxwell. The *élite* of the British scientific world listen to the address. Clerk Maxwell was as devout a Christian as ever lay on a death-bed: a man equipped with a mathematical knowledge which a Huxley and a Tyndall do not possess; a man discussing the old and the new atomic theory, crystallization, the origin of life, and other similar topics that lie on the border-land between religion and science, from the

point of view of the most exact research, and utterly repudiating agnosticism and accepting the supernatural. He is eulogized by Helmholtz for his scientific knowledge, and placed on the pinnacle of scientific fame. His unflinching theism is regarded as one of his greatest claims to scientific respect.

You are in England when George Eliot is buried. There is a sermon delivered over her grave asserting the immortality of the soul.

You are in England when Thomas Carlyle passes into the world into which all men haste. You stand at his grave at Ecclefechan; you visit his lonely home at Craigenputtock; you fill your soul with what he called natural supernaturalism. That doctrine moves you as a scientific certainty, and you find that the more closely you clasp it to your bosom the more heartily are you in accord with the most advanced thought of the British Islands at this hour. (See "Sartor Resartus," chapter entitled "Natural Supernaturalism.")

6. In its most brilliant portions, advanced thought in England is substantially a unit in the support of Christian theism, or ethical supernaturalism.

Fichte wrote in his maturity, "Every man must die to sin and lead a new life, and this must be done as the act of his own moral freedom; yet it can be done only by looking for aid to Christ, the source of a new life. Through Him must enter all who ever come into the kingdom of heaven." (See "German Culture and Christianity," by Joseph Gostwick, London, 1882, p. 203.) Natural supernaturalism is not Christianity. Carlyle was a pupil of Fichte, but

he followed Fichte only half-way. In his maturest period, Fichte taught that the Gospel of John is the profoundest philosophy known to man. Carlyle never reached that height, I fear. Son of the Scotch Covenanters, Carlyle followed Fichte as much as he was capable of following any one, until he was not a little misled by Goethe. It is not fair to call him an opponent of Christianity. I found that scores among those who knew him best appreciated the Christian side of his character much more thoroughly than his rationalistic biographer, Mr. Froude, does. His best friends in Edinburgh call him substantially Christian. I have heard Mr. Spurgeon say, "Thomas Carlyle was a good Old Testament Christian. I wish he had been a better New Testament one; but in this age we need a larger number of Old Testament Christians." Natural supernaturalism, ethical supernaturalism, God in nature, God in conscience, you find among the doctrines held by English advanced thought, in the name of the scientific method. With Carlyle these doctrines were not a creed only, but a life.

Blessed are your memories of your eager visits to tidy but poor Ecclefechan, and to lonely but sublime Craigenputtock. Carlyle's letters to his mother are the best revelation of his religious life. He wrote to his mother again and again that fundamentally their views in religion were not only in general harmony, but "completely the same." Carlyle was hypocritical in these assurances to a parent whom he idolized, if he was, as Froude would have the world believe, a thorough-going skeptic as to the biblical

miracles. After his father's death, Carlyle urged his brothers to keep up family worship in his mother's house and their own. This was far from honest or earnest action if Carlyle was an anti-supernaturalist. His greatest doctrine was natural supernaturalism, or the Divine Omnipresence in all the natural laws of both matter and mind. This was the open secret which made the universe to him a Burning Bush, and every commonest path of life holy ground. I care little for Carlyle's political doctrines, which Froude thinks were his chief message to men. Carlyle himself says that his great message was natural supernaturalism. Nowhere in his authorized publications has he opposed biblical supernaturalism. If he opposed this in private, he took great pains to conceal his convictions not only from his mother, but also from his contemporaries and posterity. If he held the superficial views which Froude attributes to him as to the origin of Christianity, he never supported them by any reasons that would bear an instant's examination in face of the great scholars in Germany, England, and America, who have answered and buried the mythical theory of Strauss and the legendary of Renan. It was very unfortunate that when Carlyle was in the University at Edinburgh no powerful mind was at the front there in either the domain of philosophy or in that of theology. There is little or no evidence that Carlyle ever mastered the higher forms of thought in these departments. It would not be surprising if the truth should turn out to be that beyond a mystical, spiritualistic, and perhaps one may say a Christian theism, his views

were characterized by uncertainty and obscurity, if not confusion. The writings he has published do not show that his convictions had hardened into those of anti-supernaturalistic rationalism. If they had done so, he was evasive, cowardly, and hypocritical in not professing before the world his true position. It cannot be made clear that Carlyle was evasive, or cowardly, or hypocritical, in this or in any other matter.

Carlyle's character seems never to have quite reached that overawing spiritual maturity which appeared, with some blemishes, in Milton and Cromwell, Knox and Luther, whom he has himself eulogized as among the greatest of modern men, and whose natures were as strong and stormy as his own. Goethe was, unfortunately, at first, Carlyle's evangelist; and yet Goethe, in his old age, cannot be described as an anti-supernaturalist. Philosophy and theology have passed beyond Goethe; but Carlyle hardly passed beyond him, and so the ages will inevitably in many things leave Carlyle behind. A scientific ethical supernaturalism is or will yet be beyond them both. The characters which Goethe and Carlyle achieved, or inculcated, are neither as beautiful nor as sublime as those which are in harmony with distinctively Christian ideals.

7. Historical supernaturalism, or a scientific treatment of the origin of Christianity, with enlarged attention to biblical criticism in all its branches, is a foremost part of British advanced thought.

8. The study of comparative religion, especially of the least corrupt of the Oriental faiths, with

their literature of all kinds, is pursued with enthusiasm by advanced thought in the British University centres.

9. The might of biblical preaching in the best Scottish and English pulpits, the superb vigor of the greatest of the London churches, like Mr. Spurgeon's, Dr. Allon's, Dr. Parker's, Dr. Dyke's, and the immense audiences of Westminster Abbey and St. Paul's, are exhibitions of British advanced thought in forms at once conservative and progressive.

10. In British religious and ecclesiastical affairs, advanced thought plainly tends toward the complete separation of church and state, and a growing union of all churches of scholarly and aggressive faith.

11. A profound interest in missions throughout the whole earth is characteristic of the ripest religious thought in the foremost Christian empire of the world.

12. A growing zeal for international reform, or the application of the moral law to the conduct of people toward people, and to the reformation of the whole world, is a trait of advanced political thought in Great Britain. Mr. Bright lately resigned his place in a haughty British cabinet because the moral law, as he thought, was not followed in England's conduct toward Egypt.

Whatever is heard in the lowlands and the marshes of English life, these and others like them are the footsteps, the heavy fall of which you hear every time you ascend to the sunlit heights where advanced thought in the British Islands loves to pace to and fro.

Among obstacles to the practical application and the progress of British advanced thought, you cannot fail to notice, —

1. An insufficient degree of thoroughness in theological education in the Established Church and in non-conformist bodies generally in England.

2. Reverence for artificial rather than for natural rank.

3. The industrial and social condition of large portions of the operative and agricultural classes.

4. Roman Catholicism in Ireland.

5. The connection of church and State.

6. Sectarian rivalries and jealousies.

7. English distaste for the higher departments of metaphysics.

8. The superficiality of organized infidelity.

9. The crowding of the populations of great cities.

10. The failure of the churches to reach with adequate religious instruction a large portion of the masses in the lower orders of society.

On the Irish Sea, and in the country-side as you pass to and fro between Dublin and Belfast, and among the factories of sooty Birmingham, Manchester, Leeds, and Sheffield, as well as in the parlors of London, you reflect silently and long, but here and now we need not dwell, on these vast but slowly vanishing evils.

Scotland has by no means given up her faith in the Old Testament, although she would like to see it examined with the scalpel and microscope. You converse with Robertson Smith, a man little taller than this chair, but mighty, —

“If I could reach from pole to pole,
I’d yet be measured by my soul;”

hardly the man, however, to lead the Scotch Free Church. You are not very sorry, if your opinions are what mine are, that he was dropped from his professor’s chair; but you would be pained if he should cease to publish. You would be grieved if his investigations were curbed in any way. He is a distant and yet real follower of Wellhausen and Kuenen; but these men are not regarded in Germany as by any means safe leaders of the most advanced Old Testament criticism.

Scotland you learn to love passionately. You pace to and fro in the Covenanters’ burial-ground; you walk over the fields made classic by Burns and Scott; you look abroad from Scottish heights upon many a landscape in which no hill rears its head unsung. You come into close sympathy with her reformers, her orators, her poets, her statesmen. You find the whole heaven of the inner sky in Scotland studded with sacred stars. You receive an inspiration every time you touch but the hem of the garment of the most heroic portions of Scottish religious history. You love England; and when, at last, you bid adieu to the British Islands, and look back upon them, what figure is it that best summarizes the advanced thought, the advanced philanthropy, the loftiest mood of the real heart of the leading political power of the world? Mrs. Browning, Shakespeare’s daughter, — I think of her as the best symbol of the choicest part of Britain. In her grand Christian convictions, her mighty aspirations for progress, her love of the

poor ; her spiritual tenderness, born of Christianity ; her mental aggressiveness, born of science ; her womanliness, — I had almost said her manliness, — I will say her heroic readiness to follow God whithersoever He may lead : this woman, with Tennyson at her side, is really the best representative I can name of what appears to me to be the innermost heart of England and Scotland.

II.

ADVANCED THOUGHT IN GERMANY,

WITH A PRELUDE ON

DOES DEATH END PROBATION ?

THE ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTY-SECOND LECTURE IN THE
BOSTON MONDAY LECTURESHIP, DELIVERED IN
TREMONT TEMPLE, JANUARY 15, 1883.

“While we are upon earth, let us repent. For we are as clay in the hands of the potter. . . . As long as we are in this world we may repent with our whole heart of the evil things we have done in the flesh, in order that we may be saved by the Lord, while we yet have an opportunity of repentance. For after that we have passed out of the world, we shall no longer have it in our power to confess or to repent.” — SECOND EPISTLE OF CLEMENS ROMANUS, *first half of second century*.

“This passage conclusively proves what those Christians thought and taught on the subject of human probation and the doom of the ungodly, who lived in the generation immediately succeeding the Apostles, and when there were probably those upon earth who had seen St. John. The possible refashioning of character during life, and its hopeless condition when life has expired, could not be more forcibly illustrated than by the image of the potter’s vessel.” — DEAN GOULBURN, *Lectures*, 1880, p. 34.

“Life, love, religion, these three are one. Tell me what you love supremely, and I will tell you your destiny. Our philosophy and our morality must lead us at last to one thought — the idea of God.” — FICHTE.

“After forty years of philosophical scepticism, eclecticism, and chaos, the cry: ‘Return to Kant,’ resounds throughout the land. . . . Hegel’s imperial sway is at an end. . . . Of recent philosophies, that of Lotze has most points of contact with theology. His idealism serves as an antidote to materialism; he makes the ethical element the heart of his system. Like Aristotle he cannot think of the universe otherwise than as controlled by reason, and therefore as embodying design and intended to accomplish purpose. . . . Spencer’s synthetic philosophy seems to have gained little influence; it is too shallow as a philosophy, too hasty in its conclusions, and too full of contradictions for the German mind.” — Professor J. H. W. STUCKENBERG, *Berlin*.

PRELUDE II.

DOES DEATH END PROBATION ?

EVIL steadfastness of character is as much a fact as holy steadfastness. Under irreversible natural law, character, without loss of freedom, tends to an ultimate steadfastness, final permanence, unchanging bent, good or bad. Probation lasts until such steadfastness is attained. It is self-evident that ultimate steadfastness, final permanence, or unchanging bent, can be attained but once. There is, therefore, no second probation.

However awful the truth, it is scientifically known that sinning against light blinds us to the very illumination needed to rectify our condition. William Shakespeare, through one of his characters, exhorts a certain other character to repentance; but seems to doubt whether repentance is possible. The passage is not partisan authority, but it shows how permanent unwillingness to repent may arise under natural law.

“ Let me wring your heart, . . .
If it be made of penetrable stuff,
If cursed custom have not brazed it so
That it is proof and bulwark against sense.”

HAMLET, *Act III., Scene IV.*

The natural laws by which judicial blindness comes to the soul are God's laws. They reveal his right-

eous judgment here. He does blind all who sin against light. He does this who is infinite in holiness and tenderness.

“Repeated sin impairs the judgment.

He whose judgment is impaired sins repeatedly.”

BHAGVAT GEETA.

When the blinded soul drifts into permanent dissimilarity of feeling with God, it drifts into perdition. As a great American theologian has said, “There is as much proof that the evil will persist in their choice as that the good will persist in theirs.” As Julius Müller has said, “Such is the constitution of things that unwillingness to goodness may ripen into eternal voluntary opposition to it.” This is undoubtedly one of the most terrible truths of the universe; but it is also one of the most indisputable.

Discussing the question, Does death end probation? first practically, next theoretically, and then exegetically, I am to maintain three propositions: —

1. If it be possible that death may end probation, the supreme dictate of practical wisdom is to repent now.

2. Mere reason shows that death may end probation.

3. The Scriptures show that death does end probation.

What have we to do, as practical people, with the seductive promise that those who do not have a fair chance here may, possibly, have another chance hereafter? I want a fact, not a hypothesis, as my support in the dark waters which separate this world from the next. The longer we live in the love of

what God hates and in the hate of what God loves, the longer we are likely to do so. An ultimate steadfastness of character may no doubt be sometimes reached even in the present life. My conscience dictates repentance at this instant, and so does all practical wisdom. If we are not sure — and no man is sure — that there is an opportunity after death for repentance, and sure that we can use it in our own cases to advantage, it remains true that now is the accepted time and now the day of salvation for us. So obvious, so commonplace, is this proposition that the very sound of it is offensive, perhaps; nevertheless, propositions become commonplace by being often repeated on account of their wisdom. The commonplace, in this matter, is the supremely philosophical proposition.

Governor Corwin, of Ohio, once met a negro, who had run away from Kentucky, and was living in rags in the free state. “You made a mistake in running away,” said the Governor to the black man. “You had friends and clothes and money enough south of the Ohio, as I happen to know; for I was acquainted with your master. Are you not now in need of all these things?” “Yes,” said the negro. “Then,” said the Governor, “you made a mistake in running away.” “Governor Corwin,” said the negro, “the situation in Kentucky is open, with all its advantages [laughter], and if you choose to go and occupy it you can do so.” [Laughter and applause.] I turn to any foremost representative of the doctrine that there is an opportunity of repentance after death, and I say, The situation is open, with all its

advantages; do you propose to go and occupy it? Not you, not I, in our senses. Do you propose to recommend to any one near and dear to you that he or she shall go and occupy this opportunity, with all its advantages? Not you, not I, while we retain sound minds. Henry Clay was once taunted by Calhoun in the American Senate with defeat in debate. "I had him on his back," said Calhoun of the Kentucky Senator. "I was his master." Henry Clay walked down the aisle of the Senate Chamber, and shook his long forefinger toward Calhoun, and said, "He my master! He my master! Sir, I would not own him as a slave!" Looking at this whole matter practically, from the point of view of sound common sense, I say to any advocate of the doctrine that there is opportunity of repentance after death, "He my master! Neither in life nor in death would I own that theory or any one of its defenders as a slave!"

Passing now swiftly to the philosophical consideration of the question, Does death end probation? I summarize my views in a series of propositions, which might easily be expanded into volumes.

1. Whatever fixes character ends probation.

2. By fixation of character is meant not the loss of freedom of will, but its acquisition of an ultimate steadfastness and unchanging bent.

3. Character tends to ultimate steadfastness, good or bad, under the irreversible natural laws of the self-propagating power of habit.

4. It is indisputable that sinning against light hardens the soul, and blinds it to the very illumination needed to rectify its condition.

5. It is demonstrable, therefore, from principles of reason that character will once and but once attain a final permanence, good or bad.

6. Reason alone, however, does not decide when and where this final permanence is reached.

7. Nevertheless, reason alone makes it appear possible, and in many cases highly probable, that a final permanence of character is attained and probation closed in the unspeakably solemn spiritual experiences which usually accompany death.

8. In death, considered merely as a physical change, there is nothing to effect a fixation of character ; but in death, considered as an event, producing, in most cases, an almost preternatural arousal of conscience, and sometimes bringing new light from the invisible world and requiring a decision for or against it, there is much to make it highly probable that death, or the moral choice made in death, determines the permanent bent of the soul.

9. All moral decisions during life tend to fix character, and some great moral decisions during life are crucial. They may be instantaneous ; but they go so far toward fixing character as to be the rudder of the soul's whole subsequent career.

10. Death in average cases is a profound spiritual experience, and involves a great decision for or against the truths it emphasizes and reveals. Under the natural laws of the soul, this decision may be crucial, and become the rudder of all eternity.

11. Death is the separation of the soul from the body.

12. Death is not over until the separation of the

soul from the body is complete. Death does not end until the life of the soul completely outside the body begins.

13. It is in the highest degree probable to reason, from the observed experiences of the dying, that, however torpid body and mind may be in many approaches to death, the soul, in the very article of death, is often awakened, and receives, as if from an invisible world, an illumination unknown to it before.

14. Even in sudden deaths, as thousands of well-attested experiences show, an instant may be enough to bring before the soul the record of its whole life, and involve moral decisions of the most stupendous import. It is notorious that this is the experience of the drowning. It is not difficult for me to believe that heaven or hell may be opened in the soul simply by the sudden, complete, and vivid unveiling of its records to its own eyes. In being once myself thrown in a sleeping-coach on a swift railway train twenty feet down a rocky bank, and expecting instant death, I found between the brink and the bottom my whole life passing before me in panorama, and the chambers of memory and conscience illuminated, as if a torch had suddenly been lighted inside of the brain.

15. But it is not to be presumed that, in average cases, the separation of soul and body is instantaneous.

16. *Much before that separation, whether rapid or otherwise, is complete, the light of eternity may have dawned upon the soul.* Whether in the body or out

of the body, God knoweth, Paul, the Apostle, was caught up to the seventh heaven, and heard unspeakable things which it is not lawful for man to utter. The soul, before it is separate from the body, may very probably hear unspeakable things.

17. Accepting or rejecting this great new light may very probably fix the soul's character under natural law. If the soul rejects the new light received in death, the hardening and blinding of the soul under natural law may be such as to be final. Whoever resists the great new light which comes in death commits very probably the unpardonable sin, which hath forgiveness neither in this world nor in the next. Whoever goes through death with his teeth set against God may never open them.

18. Whoever resists the light received in death is likely to resist the first light received after death; and so moral obduracy in death may become final permanence of evil character after death; and thus, under the fixed natural laws of the will, death may become doom.

19. It is impossible in fairness to turn these propositions about and use them as an encouragement for a death-bed repentance. Those who persist in sin until the last, and depend on the seriousness of death and the light it emphasizes or reveals to convert them, are precisely those who are the least likely to yield to light and experience God's mercy at the supreme hour. Postponed obedience is disobedience and tends to perpetuate itself. They who put off repentance until death are the most in danger of postponing it forever.

20. In those who have all their lives struggled toward the light, the seriousness of death may produce moral victory. In death may be exhibited the terrific truth of the words that "to him who hath shall be given abundantly, and from him who hath not shall be taken away even that which he hath."

21. In infants who have never sinned, the light of expanding faculties at death and the sight of Christ's face may lead at once to moral harmony with Him.

Père Ravignan, in language before me, says: "In the soul, at the last moment of its passage, on the threshold of eternity, there occur, doubtless, divine mysteries of justice, but, above all, of mercy and love." Please God, it may be so. There is probation in life, there is probation in death, and to the very end of death. Dr. Pusey, replying to Canon Farrar, says: "What God does for the soul, when the eye is turned up in death and shrouded, the frame stiffened, every limb motionless, every power of expression gone, is one of the secrets of the divine compassion."

I believe in a physical body, a spiritual body, and a soul. Death, as I conceive of it, is not disembodiment from the spiritual organism. There are forms of death which possibly may separate spirit and spiritual body from the physical body instantaneously; but in ordinary death I believe it is not safe to assert that this is the case. Death is not over and probation has not ceased till the soul is separated from the body; and the mighty light which comes in the last and highest moment of spiritual experience be-

fore death ends may have been enough to bring many a man who gave no visible sign of repentance into loyalty to God. I hardly dare hope this, however; for, as Canon Farrar himself says, "There is, in all the Bible, recorded but one example of effective death-bed repentance, — that of the thief on the cross, — one example that we might not despair, one only that we might not presume." But if this light be resisted, if this unutterable series of voices from the seventh heaven meet only moral obduracy on the part of the passing soul, I think it highly probable, under merely natural law, that this moral obduracy may carry with it such hardening and such blinding of the spirit as to be permanent.

I did not make the universe; but the universe is so made that whoever sins against light draws blood on the spiritual retina of the moral eyes. It is the most mysterious thing in the penalties the soul is called on to endure, that sinning against light blinds us to the very illumination needed to rectify our condition. That is a fact of science; that is a terrific philosophical truth which cannot be declaimed out of sight; that is a tremendous, indisputable circumstance in natural law; and on it I plant myself when I say reason shows that resisting the light that comes in death may fix character and so end probation.

To enter now upon the very centre of my theme, I beg leave to read twelve passages which I have selected most carefully from Holy Scripture, as affirming, directly or indirectly, that death does end probation. I am quite aware that this is a topic

which for centuries has had the most elaborate discussion, and that on this theme it is wholly impossible to say anything new; but, if a man speaks from the depths of his own convictions, he is likely to touch some one who has had an experience similar to his own, and all I attempt now is to put before you what convinces me. Many a rationalist has rejected the Bible as of divine authority, and given, as one of his reasons for doing so, that it teaches that death does end probation, and that the state of character into which the soul drifts through the moral choice made at death is permanent.

1. "We must all appear before the judgment seat of Christ, that every one may receive the things done *in his body*." (2 Cor. v. 10.)

Compare this passage with the statement in the twenty-fifth chapter of Matthew concerning the last judgment, and you will see that the things for which men are commended or blamed before the great White Throne are things which they could do only in the body. I cannot explain away this definite statement that we are to stand before the judgment seat at the last great day, and every one of us receive the things done in his body, — not the things done in the intermediate state.

Character may grow worse after death, or better, its bent remaining what it was at death; and yet it is the teaching of Revelation, as the acutest and saintliest of its students have read it age after age, that the issues of the final judgment are determined by the deeds done in the body.

How much can orthodoxy grant to those who hold

the doctrine of the intermediate state? In the debate in England with Canon Farrar, it has been granted by standard Anglican authorities that there may be four places in the universe to which souls go, — Tartarus and Gehenna on the left, Paradise and Heaven on the right. But between those two pairs of places there is a great gulf fixed. It may be, so Anglican orthodoxy concedes, that some souls are so imperfect at death that they need a prolonged preparation for heaven. Their doom is fixed by their predominant choice at death, nevertheless they are not ready for the highest mansions in their Father's house; and it is therefore possible that in a paradise, considered as the vestibule of heaven, they may be kept under education to the last great day. Just so, if the predominant choice of a man at death is evil, if he rejects God, he may not go at once to the deepest of the pits of woe; he may go into gehenna, but there, it being impossible for the good to visit him from the other side, he will have only evil companionship, and it is to be presumed, in view of what we know of the natural laws of the soul, this his character will deteriorate. His predominant choice has been evil, free, but fixed in malignant opposition to God; and so through the vestibule he will pass into the central chambers kept for those who have attained permanence of evil character. Canon Farrar says that, if you grant him as much as this, even if you deny that there is any passing from side to side of this gulf, he is satisfied. You think Canon Farrar asks for much more than that. In language which I hold before me in his latest book on this theme, his

“Mercy and Judgment” (pp. 157, 158, American edition), Canon Farrar says, “Dr. Pusey would, I suppose, say that an irreversible doom is passed” in death by every soul, “but that the doom may be to a terminable and purifying punishment, — a view which does not differ very materially from my own.” God’s mercy may reach us after death, “in the form, if not of probation (for on that subject I have never dogmatized), yet of preparation.” Canon Farrar, in his summary of his faith given at the end of this volume, says only, “I believe that, hereafter, whether by means of the almost sacrament of death, or in other ways unknown to us, God’s mercy may reach many who to all earthly appearance [but only to all appearance] might seem [but only seem] to us to die in a lost and unregenerated state.” (P. 483.)

Anglican orthodoxy, without protest, has allowed high authorities to teach that there is an intermediate state, Hades, including both Gehenna and Paradise, but with an impassable gulf between the two. I do not say that New England orthodoxy is satisfied with this mapping out of the region beyond death. Personally it seems to me that those who make this map assume to know more than the Scriptures reveal. I do not care to have the region beyond death charted like a continent on this planet. I ask you to notice carefully that Dr. Pusey’s position (see his volume entitled “What is of Faith?”), which Canon Farrar at this vital point accepts for substance of doctrine, is not equivalent at all to what is called the new departure, under the leadership of Professor Dorner and his American followers. *Dorner be-*

believes that the great gulf is not fixed ; but Canon Farrar, if you grant him a preparation for the worst or for the best, will admit that the gulf between these two kinds of preparation is fixed. He is forced to do this by the exegetical arguments of Anglican orthodoxy. Do not forget the large historic fact, that, on this point, Christendom is agreed, — the Greek Church, the Roman Church, the Anglican Church, the Non-Conformist Church, the American Evangelical Church. There is hardly a point on which such substantial exegetical concord has been reached age after age as on this matter. You think the new departure has been led in England by Canon Farrar. There has been a new departure on a number of points, but the breadth of it has been immensely exaggerated. Canon Farrar is sometimes a loose writer, and the tendency of his books is to carry incautious readers further toward Universalism than the author has gone himself. His last book is much more moderate in tone than his first. It is not generally known that, while Canon Farrar agrees with Dr. Pusey in asserting that there may be in the intermediate state a *preparation* of souls for the best or the worst, he agrees with him also in asserting that we have no right to feel sure at all that there is a state of *probation* there. Every unconverted man is in a state of dissimilarity of feeling with God, and this, without supernatural agency, will be permanent except as it may grow worse. But nothing in Scripture extends beyond this life the offer of salvation by such supernatural agency.

2. “ *The Lord knoweth how to keep the unrighteous*

under punishment unto the day of judgment." (2 Pet. ii. 9.)

You affirm that our Lord preached to spirits in prison. On the passage to which you now direct my attention (1 Peter iii. 18-21 and iv. 6) whole libraries have been written, and scholars do not agree yet. Are you to found a pyramid upon its apex? Are you to build a whole new theology on a disputed obscure passage? What if I were to grant you that our Lord went and preached in one case to spirits in the intermediate state between death and the day of general judgment; are you to draw from this fact alone such stupendous inferences as Dorner does? The notorious truth is that this passage concerning the preaching to spirits in prison has often been interpreted by scholars of the very highest rank as referring not to preaching to the spirits of the dead at all, but simply to those "who some time were disobedient," on earth, "when the long-suffering of God waited in the days of Noah." You wish me to come to close quarters with this celebrated passage? My conviction concerning it is that Peter is to be explained by Peter. The famous passage in First Peter is to be read in the light of a passage that is not often emphasized, but which ought to be pushed to the front in Second Peter. I read here, in the revised version of Second Peter, second chapter, verses 4 to 10, that "God spared not angels when they sinned, but cast them down to hell and committed them to pits of darkness, to be reserved unto judgment." He "spared not the ancient world, but preserved Noah, with seven others,

a preacher of righteousness, when he brought a flood upon the world of the ungodly." From these and other great historic facts here recited, the Apostle draws the stupendous inference that "*the Lord knoweth how to deliver the godly out of temptation and to keep the unrighteous under punishment unto the day of judgment.*" With all respect to exegetical scholars, it must be affirmed that consistency of meaning is the supreme law of the interpretation of any passage, sacred or secular. Peter must be interpreted as consistent with Peter himself. In this second chapter he does assert that God spared not the ancient world, and that the Lord knoweth how to keep the unrighteous under punishment unto the day of judgment. How do you reconcile that distinct statement with your idea that these very people of the ancient world, after they had gone into an intermediate state, heard our Lord preach, and that his preaching was effectual for their salvation? I assail this passage, as a recent writer in the "Bibliotheca Sacra" (the Rev. W. H. Cobb in the number for October, 1882, p. 770) has done, from the rear. I use Peter to explain Peter. What sense is there in such reasoning as this? God spared not the ancient world while its inhabitants were on the earth, but sent Christ to preach to the spirits of the inhabitants of the ancient world after they had gone into the intermediate state, and there caused them to be converted; *therefore*, the Lord knoweth how to *keep the unrighteous under punishment unto the day of judgment!* Such interpretation introduces the most palpable self-contradiction into the

Holy Word. It is difficult to avoid intellectual chaos in our interpretation of Scripture, if we adopt, in all its necessary logical ramifications, the idea that there was preaching in the intermediate state, and that it was effective to the conversion of souls lost until the preaching occurred.

I will not affirm that the second of the three famous passages in Peter does not refer to preaching to the dead; but I must interpret even that passage in consistency with this definite statement that the Lord knoweth how to keep the unrighteous under punishment unto the day of judgment. The passage does not refer to the most iniquitous only. The most iniquitous are singled out afterward. The language plainly applies to all those who died unpardoned. Dean Alford uses substantially the same language in his translation of this passage which the Revised Edition does. I know that Dean Alford defends the doctrine that there was preaching to souls in the intermediate state; but he is not the only commentator in the world. You can cite fifty commentators on your side of the case, and I can cite fifty on the other side. Individual opinion amounts to nothing on this question. We must strike a balance of whole libraries; but the fact after all is that whole libraries have not settled the matter. Do you expect to obtain public confidence by standing on a quaking, exegetical bog? This passage is confessedly obscure, and it is so apart from the general drift of revelation that we have no right to plant upon it dogmatic assertions contrary to the plain meaning of passages which are clear. One text must

not be allowed to check the flow of the whole central current of Scripture. It is the business of every layman to have an opinion on this matter and to search the Holy Word for himself. I commend the Second Epistle of Peter to the attention of any man who has been misled by previous passages in First Epistle of this Apostle as they have been interpreted by modern scholarship, or the lack of it.

Even if you think it prudent to deny the genuineness or canonical authority of Second Peter, you must yet admit that this document was in existence and circulation at a very early date in the Apostolic Church, and that it shows, therefore, how those to whom it was addressed understood the topic of the preaching to spirits in prison.

3. "Between us and you there is a *great gulf fixed*, so that they who would pass from hence to you cannot; neither can they pass to us that would come from thence." (Luke xvi. 26.)

I am quite aware that it is affirmed that, although it is said no one could go from Abraham's bosom across this gulf, perhaps one might go from God's bosom. But why frighten us with this tremendous statement concerning the gulf fixed, if, in the darkness beyond this vista, there is such a noon of light as that God himself is to preach in the intermediate state?

I believe that light is kept before the lost. I believe that God will be all in all, both in the saved and in the lost, and that the fact that God is all in all in a lost soul is the chief source of its misery. There seems to me to be no more terrific description

of perdition than that God may be all in all to a soul rebellious to Him.

4. "He that, being often reproved, hardeneth his neck, shall suddenly be destroyed, and that *without remedy*." (Prov. xxix. 1.)

5. "*Whoever* shall be ashamed of me and of my words in *this adulterous and sinful generation*, of him also shall the Son of Man be ashamed when He cometh in the glory of his Father with the holy angels." (Mark viii. 38.)

6. "Whatsoever thou shalt bind *on earth* shall be bound in heaven, and whatsoever thou shalt loose *on earth* shall be loosed in heaven." (Matt. xvi. 19.)

7. "Behold, *now* is the accepted time ; behold, *now* is the day of salvation." (2 Cor. vi. 2.)

8. "If we live *after the flesh*, we must die ; but if by the spirit ye mortify the *deeds of the body*, ye shall live." (Rom. viii. 13.)

9. "It is appointed unto men once to die, but *after this the judgment*." (Hebrews ix. 27.)

10. "There is no respect of persons with God. For as *many as have sinned without law* shall also perish without law : and as many as have sinned in the law shall be judged by the law, *in the day when God shall judge the secrets of men* by Jesus Christ according to my gospel." (Romans ii. 12-16.)

11. "*Ye shall die in your sins*. Whither I go ye *cannot* come. Ye are from beneath ; I am from above. I said, therefore, unto you that *ye shall die in your sins* ; for if ye believe not that I am He, *ye shall die in your sins*." (John viii. 21-24.)

Three times that phrase repeated ! Three times

in a hand's-breadth of one chapter of the gospels our Lord himself uses language which I can interpret only as implying that death is a finality.

The new departure is not found in the gospels. The doctrine that there is opportunity of repentance after death did not proceed from the lips of Omniscience in the person of our Lord. The decisive fact, as Professor Park has said, — and let nobody think the word of Cæsar will not yet stand against the world! [heartly applause], — is that He who was the perfection of mercy and of knowledge, He who gave his life for mankind, He who represents all the heights of the Divine love, never taught the doctrine of repentance after death. “The God-man, who came for the purpose of seeking and saving the lost, has taught more imperatively than any other one that men who are lost when they die are lost forever.” (Prof. E. A. Park, “Discourse at the Installation of the Rev. Horace H. Leavitt,” p. 30.)

“I say unto you, my friends, Be not afraid of them that kill the body, and after that, have no more that they can do. But I will forewarn you whom ye shall fear: Fear him, which after he hath killed, hath power to cast into hell; yea, I say unto you, Fear him.” (Luke xii. 4, 5.) I want preaching to have the biblical tone, and I do not see how it can have this with Dorner's eschatology behind it.

12. “He that is unjust let him be unjust still; and he that is filthy let him be filthy still; and he that is righteous let him be righteous still; and he that is holy let him be holy still. And, behold, I come quickly, and my reward is with me, *to give every*

man according as his work shall be." (Rev. xxii. 11, 12.)

The implication here, as everywhere, is that we are to be judged by the deeds done in the body and under the laws by which character tends to ultimate steadfastness, good or bad.

This topic is so high that I do not care to quote on it merely human authority; but a theological seminary, which is dear to me as are the ruddy drops that visit this sad heart, has been very much misapprehended of late, I fear. I happen to know that, on the last Sabbath of the last year, there was preached in the Seminary chapel, at Andover, an elaborate discourse by the professor, of the relations of Christianity and science, Dr. Gulliver, of which this was the central proposition: "The Bible contains, on any fair interpretation, not a suggestion nor a word extending the offer of salvation beyond this world." ("Golden Rule," January 13, 1883.) I protest against the exaggerations of a partisan religious press, representing opinions unfriendly to orthodoxy and greatly magnifying the present breadth of what is called the new departure. I endeavor to believe that, with the possible exception of a single professor, the history of the new departure in Andover Theological Seminary, as it now stands, might be written as the history of the serpents in Ireland was, in the famous chapter, consisting of a single sentence: There are no serpents in Ireland. [Laughter.] There is no new departure. [Loud applause.]

Almighty God is undoubtedly here; and I would have this discussion conducted as if on our knees and

without applause. I am a student of the relations of the natural laws to religious truth, and I profess to you before God that I find the natural laws as stern on the topic of punishment after death as the Bible itself. Nature is as orthodox as Scripture. There are two sides of the Divine natural laws; they lift the good as inevitably as they degrade the bad. They are in operation all around us. Every month I see men of whom I honestly think the question is not whether they are drifting into a final permanence of evil character, but whether they have not already attained it. Of course, it is self-contradiction to suppose that a final permanence is not final. Sometimes an unchanging bent of character is attained in this world. With these supreme natural laws around us, exhibiting their force in our own experience and illustrated by all history, philosophy, and literature, — by Shakespeare, by Plato, and by every great student of the human faculties since time began, — how can we conclude that they will not operate in the intermediate state? Plato said the laws of the next world are brothers to the laws of this. To reason from the stupendous separations which these laws produce on earth to corresponding separations which they will produce in eternity is to reason in the only scientific and secure way from the known to the unknown. Heaven deliver us from teaching propositions hazardous to the souls of men! God prepare us all, by open eyes, by regenerated hearts, to go into the next world depending only on doctrines which are safe in any event! [Voices, "Amen," "Amen."]

LECTURE II.

ADVANCED THOUGHT IN GERMANY.

IF England is our Motherland, Germany is our Fatherland. It must be confessed that in the highest matters of philosophy and science Germany now leads the world.

Germany is dear to me, because some moments of birth for great intellectual experiences have come to me on her soil. At Halle, in the gardens of Tholuck and in the lecture-rooms of Julius Müller and Hermann Ulrici; at Berlin, in the auditorium of Dörner, Curtius, Kiepert, Grimm, and Helmholtz, and above the graves of Neander, Schleiermacher, and Hegel; at Leipsic, in the audiences of Delitzsch, Kahnis, and Luthardt; at Heidelberg, in the classes of Kuno Fischer; at Bonn, most especially, in consultation with Lange, or prolonged interviews with Christlieb; at Göttingen, at the burial of Schöberlein and Hermann Lotze; at Weimar, in the haunts of Herder, Richter, Schiller, and Goethe, I have received some of the most stimulating personal influences to which I can look back in any land.

The chief signs of the times in regard to advanced thought in German theology, as I interpret them, are four.

1. A daring but unmistakable under-current of

opinion in favor of the organization of the more evangelical portion of the German state churches into a free church, with no connection with the state.

2. The downfall of the mythical theory as to the New Testament.

3. Profound studies of the natural religion of conscience.

4. Progressive and yet conservative criticism of the Old Testament.

The torpor of the German state churches is one of the causes giving force to the under-current of demand in evangelical circles in Germany for a free church. The rationalistic preachers who are sometimes sent down by state bureaus to preach to evangelical congregations are an offence to the German sense of fairness. This acute grievance incites to the support of a movement for a free church. What would Americans think if government were to appoint preachers over congregations, and if a devout assembly were to find itself saddled with a rationalist in the pulpit, and not possessed of authority to unseat him? This is often the experience of really evangelical congregations on the Rhine, the Elbe, and the Oder. Very little is printed on this subject in Germany; very little is said on this matter, except in whispers in private circles; but you cannot be long in association with the leaders of evangelical thought in the Fatherland without finding that they are making preparation for a change in the organization of the German Church.

When the present Emperor dies there will come to the throne in the German Empire a man of most

liberal opinions in theology. The Crown Prince is not a rationalist. He should not be regarded as an opponent to Christianity ; but he is married to a daughter of Queen Victoria, who thinks that any man who believes in miracles is either a hypocrite or a fool. She was a pupil of Strauss. One of the first important remarks I heard, on going to Germany, nine years ago, — and the sentence came from no less a man than Professor Tholuck, — was that the Crown Prince had married a woman of frivolous opinions in theology, and that great harm might ultimately come to the empire from her being a pupil of Strauss, the author of the mythical theory. A similar opinion I met often on a recent tour to six of the foremost German cities and universities. It is, of course, not certain, but it is probable, that the new court which will be organized after the present venerated Emperor passes away will not be as favorable to Christianity as the present one. Do not think it is the attitude of the court which determines the attitude of the German state churches and universities toward evangelical Christianity. You are immensely mistaken if you fancy that any court has power to lead the intellectual aristocracy of Germany in the professorships of the great Universities. *Lehrfreiheit* and *Lernfreiheit*, freedom to teach and freedom to learn, — these are rights asserted in Germany in the teeth of any possible influence from the court for or against Christianity. Germany, in the past, has not had any too much political liberty, and so she has become more emphatic than perhaps she otherwise would be concerning the preservation of her intellectual liberties.

One of the most skeptical periods in modern German history was when there was on the German throne a really Christian ruler. It is by no means the influence of the present Emperor that has effected the recent change in the attitude of theological scholarship toward rationalism.

It is not to be expected that any large trouble will arise from the coming to the German throne of a man whose opinions may not quite coincide with those of the present Emperor and the present Chancellor, both of whom are devout Christians. Bismarck has a strange way of showing his mildness at times; nevertheless, these men, in life as well as in word, stand unflinchingly forward in support of a scholarly and undefiled Christianity. They are by no means unable to give good reasons for the faith that is in them. What is probable is that, when the present Crown Prince comes to supreme power, there may be somewhat more freedom allowed than now to bureaus above the state churches in sending down rationalistic preachers to the state church congregations. There is an unmistakable revival of evangelical religion in several quarters of Germany. The German state churches, especially the Lutheran, have been petrified; they have been very ineffective in preparing young men, in a religious way, for the ministry. They are marshes, in many cases, and the vapors sent up from them account for some very strange things seen through rationalistic university telescopes. Nevertheless, evangelical life has taken such a hold upon these churches, in many parts of the empire, that, if the bureaus

send down rationalistic preachers much longer to evangelical congregations, there will be a secession, and a free church formed, wholly separate from the state. In such an emergency, several evangelical teachers and preachers in Germany, now known on both sides of the Atlantic, but whom I must not name, for I do not wish to implicate them in any of these revolutionary agitations, would come to the front. A few of these leaders understand well, not merely through books, but by travel, the condition of Scottish and English and American free churches.

It has often been my duty to call public attention to the fact that, in the United States in 1800 we had one in fifteen of the population inside the evangelical churches, and that to-day we have one in five. Here is the result of a century of sailing over the yeasty, foaming sea of a free church in a free state, where, as Europe predicted, we were to be wrecked.

Already Australia has adopted the American precedent for her guidance. She has put all connection between church and state into process of extinction in all her colonies. I have heard Archbishop Trench say, at his own table, to his associate ecclesiastics in Dublin, that Ireland could not go back to a connection of church and state if she would, and would not if she could, and should not if she would. Church and state have long been partially separated in Scotland, and you already begin to hear, all around the horizon of that land, rising thunders on the theme of complete disestablishment. But who expects England to avoid radical discussions

on this theme a century, or half a century, or a generation, longer?

Disestablishment is a great reform to be expected in a near British future. Non-conformity in England is a giant. It asks no favor from the state, and is beginning to be above looking for any favor from mere rank and title. As I heard a great London preacher of a Non-conformist body say: "Other things being equal, the weight of a man is doubled in England by his belonging to the Establishment." But it will not be fifty years, as I hope, before such a remark cannot be made.

England is learning to respect Non-conformity. It is true that here in America the representatives of the same denominations who are called Non-conformists in England stand a little more erect socially than some Non-conformists do in Great Britain. I have the utmost respect for the representatives of Non-conformity in the British Islands, but I dislike to see occasionally in some of them a tendency to take a craven and apologetic attitude before the Establishment. In their great leaders I found no trace of this tendency. It seemed to me snobbishness; and perhaps snobbishness is the worst thing in English society. But, on the whole, free churches in England and Scotland and America have been so successful that Germany begins to study their system, with the view of imitating it by and by.

If a free church should spring up in Germany and be obliged to stand on its own merits or fall, we should begin to see a new style of German preaching. Evangelical zeal reacting through the congregations

on the theological halls, would give us a new type of German theology, not merely scholarly, but devout. I know one great German professor, who for years was a pastor in London, and has been a delegate to the Evangelical Alliance in America, who is, perhaps, at this moment the foremost representative of the discussion of the Christian evidences in the German tongue, and who is in the attitude of a tiger ready for a spring. If a secession of evangelical churches occurs and a free church is formed in Germany, he will be the man for the hour. His heart, his head, his history, fit him to lead such a blessed change in the ecclesiastical arrangements of the German Empire.

What is advanced thought now inculcating in Germany as to the historic evidences of Christianity, and especially as to the mythical theory of Strauss, which gave scholars a considerable amount of trouble a few years ago?

1. It is now admitted by Baur, Renan, Strauss, and all really learned infidels that four of Paul's epistles were written before the year 60. These four are, Romans, Galatians, and the First and Second to the Corinthians.

2. Paul's four undisputed epistles prove: (1) that within twenty-five years of the date assigned to the death and resurrection of our Lord numerous Christian societies had been established throughout the whole extent of the Roman Empire, from Jerusalem to Rome itself; (2) that in these societies there was agreement in the reception of the doctrines of our present gospels as of divine authority, and of the

history recorded in the gospels as attested by the most irresistible and overwhelming contemporary evidence.

These four epistles alone prove that the creed taught by Paul, and received by the Christian societies throughout the Roman Empire, before the year 60, included substantially all that the Christian creed of to-day embraces.

3. Between 34 and 60 A. D. there is not time enough in any age, and especially not enough in the age of Livy and Tacitus, for myths and legends to grow up and obtain acceptance as histories of actual fact.

4. The mythical theory of Strauss, the legendary theory of Renan, the tendency theory of Baur, all of them applications of a theory of development to the explanation of the origin of the New Testament literature, are thoroughly confuted and shown to be now utterly untenable by serious and educated men. (See Bampton Lectures for 1877, by Prebendary Row; also, Prof. Stanley Leathes's lecture in the volume entitled "Modern Skepticism," published by the London Christian Evidence Society; and also, the Rev. Dr. J. Oswald Dykes' article in "Brit. and Foreign Ev. Rev.," No. cxi., on "The Witness of St. Paul to Jesus Christ.")

5. The application of the development theory to the explanation of the origin of the New Testament literature having thus ignominiously failed, it is to be presumed that we shall not find in that theory a complete explanation of the Old Testament literature.

Young men here, or those no older than your pres-

ent lecturer, remember when the mythical theory of Strauss was passing through its haughty, domineering period, and was supposed to be something with which it was a little dangerous to meddle. I recollect well that, when I entered Yale College, I was seriously advised to read and not to read Strauss's book on the life of our Lord. I took it down and turned it over, obtained possession of the theory, and for many years it lay in my mind without an adequate answer to it. No adequate answer had been given in 1858. Up to that time we were unable to show the masses of the people just how this theory should be confuted, although scholars knew, of course, that it was not tenable. I was in a period of unrest. I was passing through that transitional era in which young men can raise more questions than they can answer. Scholars were annoyed by this theory, because it was not easy to state to the people clearly what the answer to it is. A reply presumes considerable knowledge of early recondite matters in Christian history, and I am now venturing much in trying to condense into a few minutes what has been wrought out by the debates of a generation.

It was supposed, a generation or two since, that the earliest date to which we can trace back the New Testament literature was 180, or thereabouts. The date assigned to the Crucifixion and Resurrection was not earlier than 30 and not later than 34. Here, then, was a gap between the upper and the lower blade of a pair of chronological shears. In this opening between 30 and 180 there was time for myths

and legends to grow up. It was Strauss's theory that, between 30 and 180 or 200, exaggerated accounts of what the founder of Christianity did were woven about his idolized memory by his disciples, and that these exaggerations were mistaken for history. Elaborate illustrations were drawn from the growth of myths and legends, in connection with heathen religions. A whole science of myths was originated, and you have it taught occasionally by sufficiently advanced retrograde thinkers in this country and in England to this hour. I presume a rambling carelessness of liberal thought can be found even in the city of Boston that will, to-day, stand on this system of myths and legends and haughtily reject the New Testament literature as not containing contemporaneous evidence of the reality of the Christian miracles. But what has happened in the progress of research? We have now shut these shears until the lower blade stands at 60, the upper at 34. Even Keim, the ablest of the recent negative critics, goes yet further, and says: "We may definitively maintain A. D. 35 as the year of Jesus' death." ("Jesus of Nazara," vol. vi. p. 244. Eng. Trans., 1883.)

Go with me to the Colosseum in Rome, and convince yourselves that certain leading Christian events, eighteen hundred years distant from us, can be perfectly verified to historic conviction. This Colosseum is a huge object. It is difficult to get out of sight of it in the wide plain of the centuries. When was it built? It was begun in the year 72. Who built it? Jews captured at Jerusalem were the chief workmen

employed on this structure. When was Jerusalem captured? In the year 70. Who captured it? Titus. How do you know Titus captured Jerusalem? Across the street, yonder, is an arch erected to his memory; and on it, to this day, in beautiful relief, you have representations of the golden candlestick and other utensils employed in the Temple. Nobody doubts that Titus, in the year 70, captured Jerusalem, and that the Jews helped to erect the Colosseum. When did Nero die? In the year 68. Solid, unmistakable verities these stones and these dates! There are very many events, eighteen hundred years gone by, of which we are more sure than we are as to what happened in the next street in the last hour. When did Paul die? Under Nero. Everybody admits that Paul died in the reign of this despot, although there is a dispute as to the year; but he certainly died under Nero, and therefore before 68. When did Paul write his epistles? *Before he died!*

We know that Paul wrote his epistles, at least the four I have named, before Festus succeeded Felix in the government of Judea. When did Festus succeed Felix? In 60. Paul was in prison in Cæsarea two years before Festus succeeded Felix, and he wrote these epistles before he was imprisoned; so we carry the date of the oldest of the four up to 58. And for reasons which I will not enter upon in detail, the date of Galatians is now often put at 54.

Thirty-four, fifty-four, — twenty years only between these blades! There is not time in twenty years for myths and legends to grow up and be mis-

taken for history. Is it asserted that human memory is good for nothing if it stretch over a score of years? What is your memory worth as to events happening twenty years ago? What was happening then? 1883, 1873, 1863, — we were in the midst of the civil war. Your testimony before any jury, as to matters of any size, would be worth something to-day even as to events a score of years gone by. Do you think that there were no books in Paul's day? Plenty of books existed then, only they had the form of parchment volumes. This was the age of Livy and Tacitus. No printing-presses, indeed; but books were easily multiplied. Call five hundred slaves into this room, and let them act as my amanuenses. I stand here and slowly dictate the contents of an Ode of Horace or an Epistle to the Romans. My five hundred amanuenses will make five hundred copies sooner than any printer in this city can set up the type and print five hundred. Of course the printer might surpass us in speed in producing ten thousand copies; but when parchment volumes are passed from hand to hand, five hundred copies go far and last long as records. The idea that in the age of Livy and Tacitus, when libraries and books abounded, no authentic records could exist and be spread abroad, is preposterous in the highest degree.

Galatians many scholars date at 54. But I open the first chapter of Galatians and read that Paul went down into Arabia and spent three years. Fourteen years after he went up to Jerusalem. Now if, as many commentators do, you add the three to the fourteen, you obtain seventeen years to take away

from the twenty between 54 and 34. You shut those blades of the chronological shears until only three years remain between them. St. Paul's testimony as to the origin of Christianity is indisputably contemporaneous evidence, and the puerile assertion of the infidels that no such evidence exists to the reality of the great events connected with the founding of Christianity is overwhelmed, horse, foot, and dragoons. Never since the Apostolic age has Christianity stood so proudly erect on her rendered reasons in the field of historic research as at the present hour. Strauss abandoned his own mythical theory before he died. It was buried before he was. There is not enough left of Strauss's mythical theory between these two blades to make a fig-leaf to cover the shame of historic skepticism.

The watchword of the profoundest philosophy in Germany has for some years been, Back to Kant. Two great influences have guided philosophical speculation in the Fatherland, a theistic and a pantheistic. The former originates with the philosophy of Plato and Aristotle, and is represented by the great succession of the schools of Leibnitz, Kant, and Lotze. The latter commences with Spinoza, and has its development in the schools of Schelling and Hegel. It is conceded on all hands that the foremost philosopher of Germany in the present generation was Hermann Lotze. His philosophy was profoundly anti-materialistic and theistic. I stood at his grave at Göttingen soon after his burial, and found at the head of the tomb the fresh palm leaves and laurels woven into the form of the Christian cross. Lotze's philosophy

sees in the wide field of human observation three things, a world of facts, a world of laws, a world of worths. By the latter is meant the standards of value, æsthetic and moral, belonging to the various objects of the universe. These three departments are not separable in reality, but only in thought. Lotze insists that self-evident truth requires us to hold, that facts are the field in which, and laws the method by which, the standards of æsthetic and moral worth in the universe are established and maintained. He insists, in opposition to all pantheistic and materialistic systems, that such a union can become intelligible only through the idea of a Personal Deity, who, in the creation of the world, has voluntarily chosen certain forms and laws through which the ends of his work are gained. Our relations to this Omnipotent and Omnipresent Being are made known to us through his voice in the conscience. The highest philosophy of our age is on its knees before a Personal God.

III.

DELITZSCH ON THE NEW CRITICISM OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

WITH A PRELUDE ON

THE FUTURE OF CIVIL SERVICE REFORM.

THE ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTY-THIRD LECTURE IN THE
BOSTON MONDAY LECTURESHIP, DELIVERED IN
TREMONT TEMPLE, JANUARY 22, 1883.

“Men in office have begun to think themselves mere agents and servants of the appointing power. I am for staying the further contagion of this plague.” — DANIEL WEBSTER.

“One third of the working hours of Senators and Representatives is hardly sufficient to meet the demands made upon them in reference to appointments to office. The present system impairs the efficiency of the legislators. It degrades the civil service. It repels those high and manly qualities which are so necessary to a pure and efficient administration. It debauches the public mind by holding up public office as the reward of mere party zeal. To reform this service is one of the highest and most imperative duties of statesmanship.” — JAMES A. GARFIELD, *Atlantic Monthly*, July, 1877.

“The burning question of the age is not, What does the Bible teach? It is one yet more radical and fundamental, What is the Bible?” — PROFESSOR W. HENRY GREEN.

“Of this I am sure at the outset, that the Bible does speak to the heart of man in words that can only come from God. No historical research can deprive me of this conviction, or make less precious the Divine utterances that speak straight to the heart.” — W. ROBERTSON SMITH.

PRELUDE III.

THE FUTURE OF CIVIL SERVICE REFORM.

CIVIL Service Reform in the United States has succeeded, as yet, only on paper, except in the city of Brooklyn. In that municipality twelve aldermen were lately put in jail for contempt of court. A mayor has been elected who is conducting the local government on business principles. He has unusually large power for a city executive, and is held to a marvellously close responsibility. Brooklyn is thus attempting, at this moment, to solve a problem of really world-wide interest.

What reply are we to make to the sneer of aristocratic circles in England, in Germany, in India, and of conservative leaders in Australia, to the effect that universal suffrage always fails to secure good government in great cities? A fifth of the population of the American Union now lives in cities of eight thousand or more inhabitants. In Australia the suffrage has been made broad. Nearly a quarter of the population lives in cities. In Sydney, and especially in Melbourne, almost precisely the difficulties which the United States have had with corrupt city officials are becoming very common, filling the newspaper discussions and awakening the anxiety of patriots of every political creed.

Let the whole world be the background of all our discussions of our free institutions ; for the whole world is watching our successes and defeats. Remember that, if we succeed in putting our civil service on a basis that will secure at once efficiency and honesty, we shall be removing the chief reproach brought against our institutions by their enemies abroad. At no time have I felt more humiliated in the presence of foreign critics than when I have attempted to stand on the ground of our municipal, state, and national civil service, and show that its frequent corruption is a disease of the surface, and not of the vitals.

I most thoroughly believe that we are as honest a people as there is on the face of the earth ; but, in the matter of civil service we are more tempted than any other people. In eighty-two years our population has increased from 3,000,000 to 53,000,000. As late as 1801 there were less than 1,000 civil service officers in the whole country ; now there are more than 100,000. We had then 69 custom-houses, and now have 135. Our ministers to foreign countries were then 4, and our consuls 63 ; now the ministers are 33, and the consuls 728. Then we had 906 post-offices ; now we have 44,848. The Republican party has at its disposal 110,000 appointive officers. George Washington could know something definite as to the fitness of all the men he appointed to the civil service ; but it is not in the physical or mental power of any one man, nor of any ten men, now to sift the army of applicants for employment under government, and dispense its enormous patronage in-

telligently. We must not expect to tie with mere paper twine a grab-bag as wide as the continent, and containing a constantly increasing income, now amounting to \$400,000,000 annually.

The civil service bill, which has just become a law, will be opposed by scores of men who voted for it. The question put to a new-comer in society in Boston is, as you all know, Have you ever written a book? In New York, How much are you worth? In Chicago, How are you getting on? In San Francisco, Who owns you, — the railway monopoly or the sand-lots? But in Washington the question is, Are you likely to be reëlected? [Laughter and applause.] Now, the people have spoken on the subject of civil service reform; and, for fear of losing a reëlection, many a congressman has recorded himself on the side of this reform, when, as I believe, he will not be found to fight very heartily for it at the polls or in caucuses.

What is the spoils system? It is the application to politics of the old style of marshalling armies in the mediæval age. The army was to be inspired by the hope of plunder. Loot! Booty! These were the watchwords of attacking battalions when a city was to be sacked. A secret conclave, a single chieftain, gave orders for the whole army, and the rallying cry of the soldiers was booty. Aaron Burr was the first man to apply to politics in this country the military system of the mediæval age. Spoils! Loot! Booty! These are to be the inspiration of attacking columns in political warfare. Spoils to the victors! This was to keep up the *esprit de corps* of great po-

litical organizations. And just as in an army a few men give the law to the whole mass of soldiers, so a secret conclave, or a single chieftain, according to Aaron Burr's system, was to rule the whole army of those who had the franchise. As the supreme crime in the soldier was bolting, or desertion, as it is called in military affairs, so the supreme crime in the voter was to be bolting or desertion from the line of effort prescribed by the chieftain. This is the spoils system, that had its first application to our politics by the subtle, sensual, almost devilish soul of Aaron Burr, who had no confidence shown him either by George Washington or Napoleon Bonaparte, as much as he tried to gain the good-will of each of these shrewd judges of human nature. Martin Van Buren approved and extended this scheme. Jackson was the apt pupil both of Aaron Burr and Martin Van Buren.

What I insist on is that booty, loot, has become of colossal proportions in this Republic. You have by this civil service bill less than thirty thousand of our officers appointed after examination. All the rest is booty yet; all the rest, under the provisions of this bill, can be changed whenever parties are changed. England changes only about thirty men when she changes parties. Out of an hundred and ten thousand officers, eighty thousand, including all on whose appointment a vote of the national Senate is necessary, are not reached by this enactment. Very soon there will be one hundred thousand to be changed, even if this bill is carried out. Our population is doubling every twenty-five or thirty years.

We might have that law fairly executed, and yet change two hundred or four hundred thousand officers every time we change parties at Washington. The Republic will not safely bear this strain.

I do not assail the new civil service law as anything else than the best that could be carried through Congress at the present time. It is an educative measure. It is a moderate, wise enactment, under the present circumstances. I greatly reverence the wisdom of the chief promoters of this bill, especially of the man who drew the larger part of it, the Hon. Dorman B. Eaton, and of the Senator who added the section against political assessments, — General Hawley, of Connecticut. [Applause.] They are likely to be remembered in generations to come as foremost friends of one of the most important reforms of our vexed day. These men are, no doubt, profoundly shrewd in driving the thin end of the wedge first, and not attempting to force the thickness of reform at once into the gnarled oak of popular and partisan prejudice.

But I think it high time to raise a note of alarm, — a note of predictive warning, at least, — that, even if its provisions could be carried out in good faith, the new civil service law would not close the grab-bag of partisan spoils. It leaves open more than two thirds of the entrance into that continental basket of the treasury. We must expect that the size and fatness of these spoils will continue to be a temptation to greed and fraud. Cæsar, Antony, and Lepidus never had \$400,000,000 to dispose of annually.

But who expects that the new law will be carried

out in good faith by the Democrats if they come to power, or by the Republicans in case they should succeed the Democrats, unless the people rise and thunder in its favor continually. We had a civil service commission appointed, not many years ago, and we had high hopes about what it was to do; but Congress starved it to death. It is a significant whisper at Washington that more than a score of politicians who voted for that bill are known to be resolved to work for its defeat as a law. On the day when that bill passed the House of Representatives it was my privilege to be in the national Capitol, and I put the question right and left, "What will be the fate of the Civil Service Reform Bill the Senate has sent to the House?" "It cannot pass. There is no hope of its passing. Even if it should pass, it would be so changed that you would not know the bill." But it did pass by an overwhelming majority of three to one. That vote is, probably, the most auspicious event in our history since the overthrow of the Rebellion and the resumption of specie currency; but I would have you look beyond it.

The political managers of the country are yet a close league. The Tammany Halls, the Albany Regencies, under other names and under the old ones, are yet active. There is thus far no serious attempt made to apply civil service reform to state and municipal affairs. There are large and dangerous loopholes in this new enactment. Suffice it to say, many a man who voted for it is now whispering, "We will drive a coach and four through it." Now I wish the people to put a strong hand on the reins of any coach

and four that seeks to drive through this law [applause], and show them that such audacity is not profitable.

The last elections were, apparently, a triumph of the people over party. They were a blow of the serious masses of citizens against the political machine. They were an assertion of the independence of the people over political dictation and secret conclaves. They were a proclamation of the sense of the people that state affairs should not be under national control, and city affairs not under state control. We have entered, apparently, upon a new era of independent politics. Thank God, it has been proved that only independent and Sunday-school politics are good for anything through a course of four years! [Applause.]

This bill contains four great words, — examination, probation, promotion, prohibition: examination of all candidates for place in the civil service; the appointment of men from the list of those who have successfully passed this examination; promotion for merit; probation before an absolute appointment is made; and prohibition of political assessments. These are the four great ideas of this bill, unless I should mention as a great idea — it is so novel — that no man shall be employed in the public service who uses intoxicating liquors to excess. [Applause.] Thank Heaven, that provision is a part of this law! [Applause.] But the people must stand unflinchingly by each one of these great words; otherwise they will turn out to be but thin air. Over and over we have been cheated in the promise or the hope of

civil service reform; and, unless the people thunder at the polls repeatedly, the certainty is that many a coach and four will make sport of the barriers now expected to shut out from our national politics a dangerously partisan use of patronage.

What more, then, ought the friends of civil service reform to do?

1. Maintain the organization of civil service leagues throughout the country to watch the execution of the law just enacted.

2. Distribute literature to keep before the people the great facts as to the reform.

3. Prepare defeat at the polls for all opponents of the new law.

4. Broaden that law gradually so as to embrace consular appointments and the majority of all the civil service offices.

5. Extend the operation of civil service examination, probation for final appointment, promotion for merit, and prohibition of political assessments to state governments.

6. Extend the same to the whole sphere of municipal governments.

Our example will tell to the very ends of the earth in the high matter of the leadership of hermit nations that are now reforming themselves, and we shall be imitated oftener than England will be, provided we show only that a broad suffrage can govern thoroughly well our great cities and a colossal civil service. The eyes of civilized nations throughout the world are on America. There is much more likelihood that, in the reforms of the future, England will

approach us than that we shall approach her. The topic of civil service reform ought to be discussed, not merely in its municipal and state and national relations, but in its international. I would have young men who are friends of reform quote often to themselves Edmund Burke's adjuration: "*Sursum corda!* Lift up your hearts!" Act as patriots toward cities and states and nations, and the whole world. The cause which seeks to promote a pure civil service in the foremost Republic of all time is a hope of all humanity; for at the bottom of every serious soul on the globe is the prayer that governments of the people, for the people, and by the people may not perish from the earth. [Applause.]

LECTURE III.

DELITZSCH ON THE NEW CRITICISM OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

THE Scriptures of the Old Testament were the Bible of our Lord and Saviour himself. Whoever applies to them the microscope and scalpel of modern criticism seems to be half profane. We must not blame average Christians for feeling a shudder pass through their souls as they see the Old Testament laid on the dissecting table, and treated with all the coolness with which a corpse is handled under the knives of a surgeon. Eighteen centuries of victorious Christian discussion prove, however, that there is nothing permanently unsafe in the application of knives and microscopes to all themes, however sacred. Shut the door on inquiry, and doubt always comes in at the window. Let investigation proceed; let the Old Testament be examined as thoroughly as the New has been; let theories of development be applied to it as they have been to the New. Very probably the result on the field of Old Testament criticism will be what it notoriously has been on that of the New, — that attack will lead to reply, and the serious efforts of infidels occasion yet more serious efforts of Christians; and so, while knowledge is enlarged, impregnable fortifications will

rise on ground where, hitherto, there has been an insufficient defence.

What position does the advanced thought of Germany take concerning the new criticism of the Old Testament?

There are three schools of Old Testament criticism in Europe. On the extreme right is a man like Keil, well known to all scholars as the joint author with Delitzsch of probably the best series of commentaries on the Old Testament. He is an extreme conservative; his orthodoxy we should call that of the old school. In the middle stands Delitzsch, a conservative progressive, or a progressive conservative. On the extreme left you have men like Wellhausen and Kuenen. Old school, new school, raw school! These are accurate designations of the parties usually found in the front of advancing discussion. The new departure which I have been discussing seems to me to be rather more than new school; it is very nearly raw school. I belong to the new school; but Heaven forbid that I should join the raw school!

Wellhausen and Kuenen I have heard spoken of with disrespect by nearly every scholar with whom I conversed in Germany. I must not name my authority; but I went one day to a great commentator of the University of Bonn, — a man whose name is known throughout the world, — and I said to him, "What do you think of Wellhausen?" "A most pestilent critic; a man who is misleading the theological students of Germany; not at all a representative of our best scholarship; a person with a beau-

tiful style, attractive in his manner of presenting his themes, but usually without substance in his critical analysis."

Walking along the bank of the Rhine with a German professor, whose name is known throughout Christendom, and not seeking nor expecting any such disclosure, I was told that it is believed that more than a few theological pupils in Holland are immoral men. Nobody pretends to doubt that in some of the theological schools of the Netherlands, and especially in the hall at the head of which Kuenen stands, morality is not indispensable to membership of a theological class. On a topic like this only a whisper can be uttered. I said to my informant, "If the facts were known in the United States that theological students in certain schools are believed on credible evidence to be immoral men, we should no more take our theology from that style of schools than we should take our drinking waters from these gutters." There is not a little of theological discussion in Europe conducted by immoral men. It is a fact that students sometimes come out of semi-rationalistic theological courses in France and Holland with the filth of the pit upon them, and go into state churches as preachers, or into certain universities as professors; and, when books are published by them, we must, forsooth, sit down and pick them to pieces, and study them with painstaking candor; for, if we do not, liberalism will criticise us for narrowness. Let us send forth from America a breath of New England moral dignity to sweep out of sight all theology that does not come from a pure heart as well as a clear head!

Wellhausen, who was lately a professor of theology in Greifswald, is now a member of the philosophical faculty at Halle. He lately had but five hearers there; and it is said to be exceedingly difficult for a stranger to find the hall in which he lectures. Germany has not asked for the second part of his famous book on the History of Israel. Only the first part has been published, and that is fragmentary in structure. He has just announced that he does not intend to issue the second part for many years to come, and that there will not be soon any new edition of the old part now out of print. Does that look as if Germany were perishing to know Wellhausen's opinion on the Old Testament? I once had opportunity to ask Robertson Smith, in a parlor in Aberdeen, "How would you prove the supernatural origin of the Decalogue?" His answer was: "You cannot prove it to a man who is not inclined to admit it." Whereupon I said, "What do you think of Wellhausen's theories concerning the Old Testament?" "I do not adopt them all. I make strenuous objection to many of them; but I believe Wellhausen knows more of the Old Testament than any other man in Germany." Delitzsch, on the other hand, says that Wellhausen pleases young scholars, but not mature ones.

Let me turn from the raw school, and also from the old school, to that middle position which, I believe, is the safest. Let us hear what men like Delitzsch say in answer to the question, How are we to meet the new criticism of the Old Testament? This pregnant inquiry I am able to answer in Professor Delitzsch's own words. It will always be a keen de-

light to me to recall in memory an evening at Leipzig, when I heard this great Old Testament scholar read eight propositions, before an English gathering of students, and expand them to an hour and a quarter in vivid, idiomatic English speech. I now hold in my hand Delitzsch's autograph copy of these eight theses. They seem to me to be altogether the most authoritative and weighty words that have recently been uttered on Old Testament criticism, and not to be surpassed in value by anything their author has written elsewhere in space as small as these occupy. I had his permission to publish them, and I shall venture to read them, as they are brief and exceedingly pointed. Here, then, is the platform on which the evangelical conservative and progressive new criticism of the Old Testament stands, and I confess that it is a position to which I should be glad to bring the whole Christian Church. Professor Delitzsch says: —

1. "The historical criticism of the Old Testament Scriptures, as practised by Kuenen and others, starts from the dogmatic presupposition of the anti-supernaturalistic view of the world. This criticism denies miracle, denies prophecy, denies revelation. Employing these words, it joins with them philosophical, not biblical, conceptions. The results of this criticism are, in the main points, foregone conclusions, and its presuppositions are ready for use in advance of any investigation."

Anti-supernaturalism is the loadstone that throws every compass on the ship of this new criticism out of its natural position. The Old Testament must be so manipulated as to show that nothing miraculous

lies behind its accounts of the supernatural. In order to prove that no prophecies were ever fulfilled, the date of many prophets must be brought down beyond that which has been assigned to them for ages by the best scholarship. The Decalogue could not have been proclaimed on Sinai among thunders; and so we must suppose, says Wellhausen, that all that is said in the Book of Exodus about thunders of Sinai is a fiction, a piece of rhetoric invented many generations after the day of Moses to give impressiveness to the moral law.

2. "On the contrary, our historical criticism starts from an idea of God from which the possibility of miracle follows. Confessing the resurrection of Christ, it confesses the reality of a central miracle to which the other miracles of redemptive history refer, as to the sun its satellites. In view of the indisputable harmony of the Old Testament prediction and the New Testament fulfilment, it confesses the reality of prophecy. In consequence of the self-knowledge and the recognition of God which Christianity affords, it confesses the reality of revelation.

3. "We reject, *a priori*, all results of criticism which abolish the Old Testament premises of Christianity as the religion of redemption. The second and third chapters of Genesis are of greater weight than the entire Pentateuch. In this history of man's temptation and fall, and of God's preparations for the reformation of men through judgment and struggles, it may be that facts and the dress of the facts — that is, the forms of representation in which they are clothed — are to be distinguished from each other; but, with the substantial reality of this history, the religion of redemption stands or falls. The historical unity of the origin of mankind is one of the indispensable presuppositions of Christianity, which,

without it, could be the religion of the most perfect morals, but not the religion of the redemption of mankind.

4. "Those portions of the contents of the Pentateuch which belong to the substance of Christian faith are independent of the results of critical analysis. For that the people of Israel, after their miraculous deliverance from Egyptian slavery, received the law by God's miraculous revelation in the Mount of Sinai, and that Moses was the mediator both of Israel's deliverance and of the Divine legislation, is confirmed by the unanimous testimony of all the writers who participated in the codification of the Pentateuch; by the Song of Deborah (Judges v.), and by the prophets of the eighth century, as Amos ii. 10; Hosea, xii. 13; Micah vi. 4, and vii. 15. The religious tone and substance of such authentic Psalms of David as Psalms viii., xiv., xvi., are quite inexplicable without the priority of the revealed law which David praises in Psalm xix.

5. "The oldest constituent part of the law is the Decalogue, and the Book of the Covenant (Ex. xx., xxiii.), the overture of which is the Decalogue. In Deuteronomy, Moses repeats the Decalogue freely, and melts it in the current of his testamentary admonitions. *In the Pentateuch there is no part claiming, according to its own testimony, to be written by Moses himself, which may not be shown to go back substantially to Moses' own hand.* The proper style of Moses is the original of that form of style which is called Jehovistic and Deuteronomic.

6. "It is true that many, or, at least, four hands participated in the codification of the Pentateuchal history and legislation. But what the modern critics say regarding the ages of these writers is quite uncertain. In general, the results reached by these critics are by no means as unquestionable as they pretend to be. It would be unfortunate if the faith of the Church — that is, our historical certainty

of the fundamental facts of redemptive history, were dependent on these critical results. Many of the former results of the critical school are now out of fashion ; its present results often contradict each other. In reality, we know little, and imagine that we know much.

7. "It is unjustifiable to obtrude these modern critical results upon the Church, or to draw those who are not theologians into the labyrinth of Pentateuchal analysis. Without knowledge of the original Hebrew, an independent judgment about these questions is quite impossible. Indeed, Wellhausen's sagacity is as great as his frivolity. Young scholars, but not mature ones, are fascinated by him. There are elements of truth in the new phase of the Old Testament criticism ; but the procedure of sifting has scarcely begun.

8. "It is true that the Mosaic legislation had its history, and that the codification of its parts was executed successively. But the reconstruction of this history is very difficult, and perhaps impossible. It is enough that the law has the very character which the Epistle to the Hebrews describes. Our Lord is its end, and He has balanced the account book with his blood. Moses and his Elohist and Jehovists are like shadows which disappear before the Word which is made flesh."

Such is an authoritative statement of the position of the foremost critic of the Old Testament in Germany. I suppose no one would place any member of the extreme left wing on as high a plane as Delitzsch in the matter of learning, candor, and large experience in Old Testament criticism. You say Delitzsch has not always exhibited entire candor. For instance, his commentaries speak of Isaiah as if it were all written by one author, while he is said to give his

classes authority to suppose that his opinion now is that there was a Deutero-Isaiah. I have heard some of Delitzsch's pupils criticise him for not making changes in the stereotyped plates of his commentaries issued some years ago; but Delitzsch knows very well that when he makes an important statement in his class-room all specialists in his department throughout Europe will promptly hear of it. He knows he cannot put before his class his fresh opinions without scholars throughout Christendom very soon learning what they are. His newer views are discussed in his articles in current theological magazines. I think it unfair to accuse him of vacillation or want of candor because he has not changed the stereotyped plates of his works. In his maturest years, he is a man of fresh spirit. He commands naturally the enthusiastic loyalty of youth among his students. Always abreast of the most advanced of serious scholars on his themes, he is quite willing to make changes in his opinions, if required by evidence to do so, and all this is a ground of confidence in him rather than the reverse.

In order that you may have fairly before you both his concessions to the critics and the limitations he puts on their theories I have endeavored to summarize, in four propositions, the essential points of difference between Delitzsch and the left wing of critics of the Old Testament.

1. The Pentateuch has been correctly analyzed into the work of at least four different hands; but what the modern critics say as to the age of the different documents composing it is quite uncertain.

2. The so-called higher criticism has, perhaps, proved that many of the laws found in the Pentateuch arose gradually, according to the needs of the people ; and it is certain that Ezra, about B. C. 444, had a hand in their codification ; but it cannot be admitted that the Priests' Code, including the statements as to the giving of the law on Sinai, is the work of the free invention of the latest date, which takes on the artificial appearance of history.

3. The chronological order in which the documents arose has probably been correctly described as, first the Jehovistic, and next the Elohistie portions ; but the law of Ezekiel xl.-xlviii. is not prior to the Priests' Code of Exodus, as the critics maintain, but subsequent to it.

4. There is a certain amount of real learning enlisted on the side of the rationalistic criticism ; but it is governed by foregone conclusions ; it is fundamentally anti-supernaturalistic ; and so its results are arbitrary, and reached in advance of investigation.

Students of this subject should be referred to a series of very careful articles lately published by Delitzsch in Luthardt's "Zeitschrift," and largely translated by Professor Curtiss, of Chicago, in this country. I can commend most conscientiously Professor Curtiss's elaborate article in the "Presbyterian Review" for October, 1882, on Delitzsch's position as to the new criticism of the Old Testament. (See, also, several other highly valuable articles in the "Presbyterian Review" and the "Bibliotheca Sacra" for 1882 and 1883 on Old Testament Criticism, and most es-

pecially, Professor Green's "Moses and the Prophets.")

Professor Curtiss puts the whole complex matter very vigorously and clearly before his readers in this article ; and his opinions, as all scholars here know, are sufficiently conservative on this topic. Professor Curtiss is even more conservative than Delitzsch, who has been his great master, and who, as I happen to know, is exceedingly proud, as with justice he may be, of the work of his American pupil.

If you will bear with me once for all, I will summarize the position which, according to my judgment, may now be safely taken as to the new criticism of the Old Testament.

1. It is indisputable that the Pentateuch teaches ethical monotheism and inculcates a pure spiritual worship.

2. Even if it were shown that the documents composing it were possessed in common by many of the nations among which the Hebrews had their origin, the fact would remain incontrovertible, that these populations were predominantly polytheistic and devoted to a corrupt form of worship.

3. The documents, therefore, must be supposed to have been purified from polytheism and other false doctrines, before they were made a part of the Pentateuch ; and this cleansing of them, in a barbaric age, from adulterate elements which poison them in their Chaldean and Babylonian form, is one proof of their inspiration.

4. The inspiration of the Pentateuch in regard to religious things would not be disproved by showing

that it was made up according to the documentary theory of the critics.

5. The new criticism of the Old Testament raises a question not as to the fact, but as to the manner, of inspiration. This discussion does not, therefore, touch fundamental points; for the question as to the manner of inspiration is not one between believers and unbelievers, but between Christians themselves.

The churches differ in their theory as to the manner of inspiration, although they agree as to the certainty of the fact. Do not think I underrate the difference between a low and a high theory of inspiration; but a discussion as to the mere manner of it is of almost infinitely less consequence than a discussion as to the fact; and a discussion as to the fact of inspiration is of far less consequence than a discussion as to the fact of revelation.

6. The churches at large, therefore, need not be drawn into the labyrinth of Old Testament criticism; for the practical issues involved in it do not affect the chief matters of the Christian faith.

7. The theory that Ezra is the really responsible author of the Pentateuch does not account for the literature which is admitted to have existed before Ezra's time, and which presupposes the existence of the chief portions of the Mosaic law, and especially of the Decalogue. Such literature is found in the Song of Deborah (Judges v.), and in the writings of the earlier prophets, such as Amos ii. 10; Hosea xii. 13; Micah vi. 4 and vii. 15; and in Psalms viii., xiv., xvi., xix., which are authentically ascribed to David. The spiritual elevation of the Psalms im-

plies a training received from a previously existing Decalogue.

My friends, let this topic burst upon you like the welling forth of a spring of crystalline water from the mountain side; and perhaps by sudden onset it will master you, and give you peaceful convictions in the midst of all the tumult of discussion. What do we know about the Psalms? Some of them were not written by David; but the most of them were. They came into existence, large numbers of them, before Ezra's time. Who can explain the Psalms, without supposing a moral law like the Decalogue going before them, and leading Israel to those heights of spiritual experience which the poetry of David expresses? The world has not reached similar heights since, except in a very few cases, in which Christianity has been the source of the elevation. What accounts for the bursting into history of these Psalms if you do not suppose a mighty spiritual experience going before them in the history of Israel? A law awakening the soul to spiritual sensitiveness, and making the writing of these Psalms possible, must have existed for generations before their date. The great Psalms, the oldest, are something that cannot be explained at all, unless you suppose a great spiritual training in the previous history of Israel. David's Psalms presuppose the Decalogue, both psychologically and historically.

8. The theory that Ezra is responsible for the Pentateuch does not account for the figure and influence of Moses as delineated in the Old Testament at large.

Anti-supernaturalistic critics attacked the New Testament; but what they could not explain was the figure of the Apostle Paul moving through the first century, and founding churches from side to side of the Roman Empire, and filling them with a faith and life which lifted heathenism off its hinges and turned the course of the dolorous and accursed ages into new channels. What they could not explain was the character of our Lord in the New Testament literature. There it stands, and, as I heard Professor Peabody, of Harvard University, say, the starting forth on the historic canvas of such a picture as that, under the fingers of such unskilled limners as the fishermen of Galilee, is proof of its historical reality; and its historical reality is proof of its divinity.

Just so the new criticism of the Old Testament is disturbed by the presence of the colossal historic figure which we call Moses. There is the picture in the Old Testament writings. It cannot be eliminated from them. It is a consistent painting of character. There must have been a cause bringing that painting into existence. If the Pentateuch is a piece of scrap work, if it was patched together by this editor and that, and did not take its present final form until the time of Ezra, how are you to account for the reverence shown for the memory of Moses in the earliest Psalms? How are you to account for the zeal of the early prophets before the period of the exile? How are you to account for the reverence of all ages subsequent to Moses for his historic character as described in the Pentateuch? Moses is utterly

inexplicable; this picture of him in the Old Testament writings is without adequate cause, on the supposition that he is simply a figure which the bits of colored glass in the kaleidoscope of fragmentary documents have formed by accident, as pious fiction has turned them over and over. The kaleidoscopic explanation of the origin of the picture of the character of Moses is utterly unscientific. Nothing but anti-supernaturalistic prejudice can make the so-called *critical* school appear in this matter as anything other than a merely and most arbitrarily *conjectural* school.

9. The extreme of the left wing of the conjectural school reduces a great part of the history of the Pentateuch to pious fiction, the composition of which cannot be made consistent with common honesty or common sense.

Wellhausen has this atrocious passage in his article on Israel in the "Encyclopædia Britannica:" "The giving of the law at Sinai has only a formal, not to say a dramatic significance. It is the product of the poetic necessity for such a representation of the manner in which the people was constituted Jehovah's people as should appear directly and graphically to the imagination. Only so can we justly interpret these expressions according to which Jehovah with his own mouth thundered the Ten Commandments down from the mountain to the people below, and afterward, for forty days, held a confidential conference with Moses alone on the summit. For the sake of producing a solemn and vivid impression, that is represented as having taken place in

a single thrilling moment, which, in reality, occurred slowly and almost unobserved."

10. The theory here opposed is inconsistent with the representations of the New Testament that Moses was the author of the law. The supernatural origin of the Mosaic legislation, and especially of the Decalogue, is affirmed by our Lord himself.

What was the opinion of our Lord and Saviour concerning the Old Testament? His opinion ought to be ours. I know that careless men have sometimes quoted our Lord's sayings concerning the Psalms to prove that all the Psalms were written by David. That would be an unwarranted use of his language. So I believe we cannot prove from his language that the whole account of Moses was written by Moses; for it contains the account of his death, and he could not have written that. Any theory of the Old Testament inconsistent with the Divine inculcation of our Lord himself must be pronounced unhistoric and unscientific, as it is surely antibiblical. Moses is named eighty times in the New Testament, and, among these, twenty-four times as the author, and fifteen times as the writer, of the whole or a part of the law. (See "British and Foreign Evangelical Review," No. ciii. p. 113.)

11. The central historical error of the rationalistic critics is in supposing that the non-execution of a law proves its non-existence.

Luther led the Reformation; and, as has been suggested by many a disputant on this theme, it would be easy, on the principles of the new school, to prove that Luther wrote the New Testament. Ezra wrote

the Pentateuch, forsooth! The chief of the laws in the Pentateuch did not exist in ages when we have no proof of their observance! Then we may, perhaps, prove that Luther wrote the Epistle to the Romans, and especially the one to the Galatians, which was his chief weapon in the time of the Reformation. The New Testament seems to have been forgotten in the Dark Ages for a long while; and, if the non-observance of a law proves its non-existence, then the New Testament was not in existence in the Dark Ages, or at least large portions of it were not.

12. Many questions as to the structure of the Old Testament writings cannot be settled until our knowledge of Assyriology, and especially of Egyptology, has progressed further. They must await the advance of historical and archæological science, and should not be answered on exegetical grounds alone.

Professor Lenormant, author of a recent book entitled "The Beginnings of History," is a devout Catholic, but he is at the same time a thorough scholar in archæology. He holds that the day has not come yet for a final criticism of the Old Testament; and well may he do so when our theories are every year being revolutionized as to secular history by the uncovering of ancient cities. The general progress of archæological knowledge has caused again and again a revision of old positions. As we study Babylon and Chaldea at large, as we study Egypt, we are likely to obtain information that will make archæological science possible on Old Testament grounds. It was only yesterday, as it seems to me, that I was standing in the Boulak Museum in Cairo, looking

into the face of a mummy, said to be that of the king that oppressed the children of Israel in ancient Egypt. It is only yesterday, as it were, scholars began to feel sure that there are relics yet left in Egypt that may illuminate the period of the Exodus. It is only yesterday that we obtained possession of what is now called the Chaldean account of the Deluge. What is the tendency of all these discoveries? Herodotus used to be sneered at as untrustworthy; but no man sneers at him to-day. The general result of the progress of archæological knowledge in Egyptology and Assyriology has been to substantiate the grand facts of the Old Testament history. This tendency is so striking that we may stand upon archæology in its present state in making our reply to the extreme left of the new criticism of the Old Testament. Professor Lenormant admits that the Pentateuch may have been made up by a combination of documents; but he finds proof of its inspiration in the purification of these documents from polytheism and all inculcations of idolatry and other false doctrines. He sees in the winnowing of these books proof that God was behind their composition.

There is a bell in the Cathedral of Cologne made by the melting together of French cannon. It would be a very difficult task indeed to analyze that bell and determine whence the cannon came. Something like this, however, is the task before those who adopt the extreme theories of the rationalistic critics of the Pentateuch. In the minute literary traits of this series of documents, it must be supposed possible to find the lost dates of their origin, of their combina-

tion, and of subsequent editorial revisions. But what if this vague and fanciful search were successful? Even if it be granted that documents drawn from many polytheistic nations and ages were the original constituents of the Pentateuch, we have not touched the question as to the inspiration of the combined mass at all. The mass is strangely purified from all false doctrine. A divine fire has burned all adulterate elements out of it, and fused the constituents in a combination wholly new. Metallic fragments are one set of objects; melted together into a bell and hung in a cathedral tower they are another object altogether. Mere white dust is one thing; compacted into marble, in a vase, it has a ring, and is quite another. The cannon, melted and hung aloft in the form of a bell, are no longer cannon. They are an inspired work. It is our privilege, indeed, to learn all we can as to the composition of this bronze; but our highest business is to ring the bell in the cathedral tower. The moral law and the ethical monotheism of the Pentateuch have proved their resonance as often as they have been rightly used age after age. The Pentateuch, hung in the cathedral tower of the world, has uttered God's voice; and our most pressing duty is to ring the bell loudly in the heights of history, rather than to inquire, with idle curiosity, how it originated by the melting together of many fragments.

IV.

PROFESSOR ZÖLLNER'S VIEWS ON SPIR-
ITUALISM,

WITH A PRELUDE ON

THE VANGUARDS OF CHRISTIAN MISSIONS.

THE ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTY-FOURTH LECTURE IN THE
BOSTON MONDAY LECTURESHIP, DELIVERED IN
TREMONT TEMPLE, JANUARY 29, 1883.

“ Turn, turn, my wheel. All life is brief ;
What now is bud will soon be leaf.
The Wind blows east, the Wind blows west ;
The blue eggs in the robin’s nest
Will soon have wings and beak and breast.”

LONGFELLOW, *Keramos*.

“ It is Christ who rules British India, and not the British Government. It is not the British army that deserves any honor for conquering India. If unto any army appertains the honor of holding India for England, that army is the army of Christian Missionaries. Their devotion, their self-abnegation, their philanthropy, their love of God, their attachment and allegiance to the truth, all these have found and will continue to find a deep place in the gratitude of my countrymen. They have brought unto us Christ.” — KESHUB CHUNDER SEN, *Lectures in India*, pp. 280, 281.

“ Die Vernünftelci, dass Wunder jetzt nicht mehr nöthig seien, ist Aumassung grösserer Einsicht als ein Mensch sich wohl zutrauen soll.” — KANT, *Werke*, ed. Rosenkranz, x. 100.

“ Portentum ergo fit non contra naturam sed contra quam est nota natura.” — ST. AUGUSTINE, *De Civitate Dei*, xxi. 8.

PRELUDE IV.

THE VANGUARDS OF CHRISTIAN MISSIONS.

ALL that united Protestant Christendom together gives annually for missions would not pay the liquor bill of the United States for three days, nor that of the British Islands for two. At the opening of the century all Protestant Christendom expended only \$250,000 annually for missions. It expends to-day \$7,500,000 for that purpose. This is a large amount, you think. It is a bagatelle. The dissipations of Saratogas and Newports and Brightons would hardly find this sum worth mentioning in the hugeness of their expenses for self-gratification. The churches are penurious toward missions. We pride ourselves on having paid off great debts, and on having received large legacies for missionary organizations. Possibly we shall be, as Ernest Renan says, "an amusing century to future centuries." One of the things that will amuse our successors on this planet will undoubtedly be our unwarranted self-complacency in this day of small things in missions. In China there is now not an ordained missionary for a million people. In the population accessible to the American Board there is as yet only one missionary for some 700,000 inhabitants. Modern Christendom has thrown one pebble into the great ocean of missionary effort, and

stands with an amused childish conceit on the shore of history watching the wide ripples produced by that pebble, and supposes that it is reforming the world. Another century will sneer at us for our conceit and our penuriousness.

The pillar of fire, which is the supernatural vanguard of Christian missions, is the biblical truth that men are to be judged by the deeds done in the body. Because I do not believe that we are to be judged by the deeds done in any intermediate state, I do believe in missions to all men in their present state. Because I do not believe in probation after death, I do believe in sending missions to all men before their death. Whoever does not attain similarity of feeling with God cannot be at peace in his presence. In nominally Christian lands and in pagan countries, there are millions of whom the cool judgment of science must be that they are acquiring a character dissimilar to that of God. They are living in the love of what God hates, and in the hate of what God loves. These postures of soul tend to become permanent. It is self-evident that, without deliverance from the love of sin and the guilt of it, there can be no salvation; but, it is indisputable that uncounted multitudes of our race, from not beholding God as He is revealed in the gospels, are failing to obtain this double deliverance. It is a truth of Scripture, as well as of ethical science, that the blood of my brother may cleave to my skirts if I have light which he needs vitally and do not communicate it to him. All these facts are visible in the coolest scientific view of the ethical condition of the nations.

It would not be necessary for me to open the Scriptures to make myself zealous to advance missions, because the philanthropic attitude of mind is enough to arouse the soul to this duty. There are three hundred millions of women now on this planet who have only the Buddhist hope of being born again as men instead of toads or snakes. There are eighty millions of women in Moslem harems. There are myriads of men and women and children growing up in the most degraded superstitions, and suffering in mind, body, and estate, from inherited pagan customs. In the name of mere philanthropy and secular prudence, Christian missions ought to receive a support, immediate, abundant, permanent, unflinching.

After a tour around the globe, during which I met personally more than two hundred missionaries, how shall I summarize what to me, meditating often on this theme in solitude and in company, by sea and by land, appear to be the more important facts, exhibiting our present duty toward Christian missions throughout the world?

1. In Bengal alone, out of a population of sixty-three millions, there are, according to Dr. W. W. Hunter, the government statistician of the Indian Empire, ten millions who suffer hunger whenever the harvest falls short, and thirteen millions who do not know the feeling of a full stomach, except in the mango season. ("England's Work in India," by W. W. Hunter, LL. D., London, 1881, p. 78.)

Apparent poverty is not always real poverty in Asia. Under the old East India Company there was

sent to Calcutta once a committee of judges, to make investigations as to the execution of the queen's desires in regard to civic affairs. One of the judges, as he landed on the banks of the Hooghly, saw multitudes of people, without shoes and stockings and very thinly clad. He turned and said to his associate: "My brother, behold the sad effects of tyranny. Before we have been conducting our investigation six months, I hope these multitudes will all be comfortably clad in shoes and stockings." Such a misconception as this is ludicrous to the last degree. Under the tropics poverty does not look as it does with us. But, when you think of families in Southern India whose entire income is fifteen dollars a year; when you think of families in China who regard themselves as very well off if they have sixty dollars a year; when you think of poor widows in India and China subsisting on grains and roots, with only a half dollar a month; when you think what any considerable failure of the harvest may do in India and China, sending millions to death through famine, you must perceive that poverty, in spite of all the qualifications that are to be put upon our ideas when transferred to the East, is one of the kings of terror in the Orient.

2. In populations poverty stricken and often famished, the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, almost alone among the missionary managing bodies of the world, is insisting on large or complete self-support by the native churches.

In Bombay, Calcutta, Madras, Canton, Fuhchau, Shanghai, Kobe, Kioto, Tokio, and Yokohama, ten

representative cities of Asia, it was my fortune to put to large gatherings of missionaries of all denominations and nationalities a series of questions on the religious condition of India, China, and Japan, and, among them, this inquiry: "Ought native Christians to be encouraged and instructed to give a tenth of their income to the support of their churches?" With not half a dozen exceptions in at least a hundred cases, missionaries outside the field of the American Board replied: "No, not yet;" but missionaries inside the field of the American Board said: "Yes;" and so did the foremost of their pupils and converts. One evening in Bombay, the second city of the British Empire (for Bombay is now larger than Calcutta, or than Glasgow or Liverpool), I was putting a series of written questions to a company of missionaries and civilians, and this question about self-support was among the inquiries. Scotch and English missionaries, one after the other, rose and opposed such a pressure as is brought to bear on native churches by instructing them to give a tenth of their income for the support of their pastor; but, finally, uprose a converted Brahmin from out of the field of the American Board, and, in the most incisive, almost classic English, almost turned the feeling of the company in favor of the American plan. I had a similar experience in many a city, and I found the converts, especially the most intelligent of them, quite as emphatic in defending this system of self-support as the missionaries of the American Board themselves.

3. The American Board has the high respect of all other missionary bodies, because it leads them all,

unless we except William Taylor's missions, in applying the principle of self-support. This Board is thought by its compeers in India and China to push this principle almost to an extreme, and is even criticised as too economical in regard to schools, church buildings, and the houses of missionaries.

It has been my fortune to be a guest in many missionary centres, and I have usually found that Scotch and English and German mission stations appeared to be much better equipped with means of giving a guest comfort for a night or two than the missions under the American Board. I have met American missionaries of the Presbyterian and of the Methodist type apparently much richer than those of the American Board. You say that, for once, at least, I am speaking like a Congregationalist, and am defending the managers of the missions of my own denomination. It is natural that I should do so, because they have been recently assailed for wasting the funds of the churches. I know that, in comparison with many other boards, they have been penurious. I know that they have pinched noble men and women in their efforts in Asia, in order that they might not expose themselves to the charge of lack of economy. I know that, if the American Board deserves any criticism at all, it is for being too close-fisted. That is precisely the criticism brought against it by its compeers in Asia. I do not personally endorse this criticism; but, when I hear men saying that the American Board, the most economical board on earth, is wasting the funds of the churches, I must be permitted, in the name of ordinary candor and manli-

ness, to make a stern protest against this absurd charge. [Applause.]

4. In Japan the middle classes of the population have been reached to a considerable extent by Christian missions, and not a few native churches are already self-supporting. The same is measurably true in some of the older missions of Southern India, Egypt, and Asia Minor.

It is an amazing circumstance that, in 1881, the 1,200 church members belonging to the missions of the United Presbyterian Board in Egypt, most of them very poor men and women, raised £4,546, or more than \$17 each for the support of churches and schools. The Baptists, among the Karens, have done equally well, and have recently contributed money to endow a college. At Kioto I studied with the keenest interest Mr. Neesima's collegiate school, which will one day, I hope, become the leading Christian university of the Japanese Empire. It contains at present one hundred and fifty young men, half of whom are likely to become evangelists to their own people. Beneficiary foreign aid in this school to students preparing for the ministry is very limited. The membership of the nineteen native Japanese churches under the care of the American Board of Missions is now about one thousand, of whom more than two hundred were recently received. These members have contributed for Christian purposes over eight dollars each, a sum, as compared with the price of labor, equal to forty dollars in the United States. ("Brief Notes on Japan," by the Rev. Dr. J. D. Davis, of Kioto. "Mis. Her.," Feb., 1883, p. 54.)

5. When the middle class is reached in India at large, and in China, as fully as it has been in Japan, the native churches may be expected to become self-supporting in an equal degree with those of Japan, but not before.

It is true that there are churches in Japan that have sent back funds to the American Board with the remark : " We need no more assistance." Why, then, should funds be sent to China and to India? The case is different in China and in India from that in Japan, chiefly because in Japan missions have reached the middle classes more thoroughly than they have in China and in India at large. Even when native churches undertake the support of their own preachers large funds may yet be needed from abroad for schools, printing-presses, and medical missions.

6. The Christian churches of the world should be satisfied with nothing less than sending out one ordained missionary for every 50,000 of the accessible pagan population of the world.

7. No church ought to call itself thoroughly aggressive and evangelical that does not expend for the support of missions at large at least one dollar for every five it expends on itself.

In the celebrated Madura Mission, in South India, probably the most effectively managed missionary centre that I personally studied, this proportion of laborers to the population has been the ideal, never attained indeed, but unflinchingly held up as the standard of duty. On the plan of three ordained missionaries to half a million in the foreign field, and one to one thousand in the home field, the whole

world might be brought to a knowledge of Christianity within fifty years. I believe in a native ministry with all my heart, mind, and strength ; but my conviction is that in a city of 50,000 inhabitants,—say one as large as Springfield or Hartford,—in a pagan land, with all the influences of hereditary misbelief and custom opposing Christianity, there ought to be at least one man born and educated on Christian shores, and representing sound views. What if the native ministry is so enlarged as to give one religious teacher to every thousand of the population of such a city? One missionary would have under him, in some sense as pupils or ecclesiastical subordinates for the time, fifty native teachers. That number is enough for one man to oversee as a bishop of souls. In several advanced mission fields, experience has shown that the directing power of the foreign missionaries was withdrawn too early. I hold up my ideal, not as a standard that we are likely to reach very soon in practice, but as a proposition favored as an ideal by the best students and managers of missions, and especially by the ablest missionaries themselves. The opinions of missionaries at the front in actual conflict with paganism are worth more than those of any other body of men as to what we should try to do for the heathen world. Seven out of ten of the two hundred missionaries I have shaken hands with in pagan lands are of the opinion that I do not put the ideal of missionary effort too high.

I plant myself on these propositions, which, I believe, have the approval of great secretaries of missions : one missionary for every 50,000 of the acces-

sible pagan population of the world ; one dollar to be expended for missions for every five dollars expended for ourselves. The foremost American authority on missions said to me : " Let the churches expend for missions one dollar for every five they expend on themselves, and we may hope to put the Bible into the hands of every son and daughter of the human race within a generation."

8. At present, these standards of effort are to be insisted on with the utmost urgency ; for the size of the accessible population of the world is increasing enormously out of proportion to the increase of missionary funds and laborers.

Speaking roundly, a man with the Bible may go anywhere on earth, to-day. Of course there are exceptions to this proposition ; but in the great nations in the semi-civilized countries of the pagan world we may publicly or privately teach the gospel almost everywhere.

9. Infidelity is occupying the field of the upper and middle classes. Imported unbelief, in many quarters of India, China, and Japan, is as great a danger among educated native circles as hereditary misbelief.

10. The ablest men are needed at the front ; and such men have nowhere on earth to-day a wider opportunity for usefulness than in the great cities of India, China, and Japan.

11. Precisely the topics which are most often brought to the front in the Occident in religious discussions between Christianity and unbelief, are those which are at the front in the Orient.

12. When the whole field is occupied on the plan of one missionary for every 50,000 of the accessible population, the middle and upper classes will be reached, and the native churches will naturally become self-supporting.

13. It is evident, therefore, that the longer the churches delay occupying the whole field in this thorough manner, the longer will be the effort needed and the greater the expense in the conquest of the world.

14. Great expenditures now will make great expenditures for missions unnecessary in a near future; but small expenditures now may make great expenditures necessary through a long future. Immense losses to missions have often resulted, and may yet result, from the churches not taking possession of critical hours.

It is difficult to calculate how terribly hard it will be to win educated circles in pagan lands to Christianity if we allow infidelity to have its own way in them for another generation. On this theme, the Church, as a whole, is torpid; and I would have the necessity of the case smite the rock of our indifference and cause copious streams to gush forth, — not of money only, but of men.

We are honored this morning by the presence of one of the great statesmen among the secretaries of missions. I feel impelled to take him by the hand in thought; I venture to take him by the hand in reality [rising and taking the hand of Secretary Clark], and to ask this assembly to unite with him in prayer for the whole world. Longfellow, in the

last words he ever wrote, exactly described the condition of our earth to-day : —

“ Out of the shadows of night
The world rolls into light ;
It is daybreak everywhere.”

God deliver us from dawdling at daybreak !

LECTURE IV.

PROFESSOR ZÖLLNER'S VIEWS ON SPIRITUALISM.

PROFESSOR ZÖLLNER, of Leipsic University, is regarded by spiritualists as their Newton. I purpose to prove this morning that he was not a spiritualist, but rather a biblical demonologist. I am aware that I am walking over burning plowshares ; but you will remember that I am stating the opinions of others, and not my own. As to my personal positions, I have already had opportunity to be heard on this platform, and my sentiments on this topic are unchanged. I stand yet precisely in the attitude concerning this theme in which I stood when, in 1880, I discussed spiritualism as a gigantic *perhaps* ; as nothing more than an *if* ; a hypothesis, worth, perhaps, some attention as a means of guiding us into knowledge of the unexplored remainders of the human constitution and as a reply to materialism, but as not yet having reached the dignity of scientific proof that spirits, good or evil, exist and now communicate with men. I call myself a vehement anti-spiritist ; for I deny that there has ever been given scientific proof of the reality of spiritistic communications in our day ; and I, of course, deny the trustworthiness of any such alleged communications as sources of religious knowledge. The man who makes both these

denials is an anti-spiritist, however anxious he may be that spiritistic phenomena should be investigated for the sake of putting an end to enormous mischief in half-educated circles.

On the topic of what Professor Zöllner called transcendental physics, partisan feeling was rolling in mountain waves in the university life of Leipsic when I visited that city. I took much pains to inform myself as to all sides of the case, and was fortunate enough to make the personal acquaintance of Professor Zöllner, and of his great opponent, Professor Wundt. As to their contest, I conferred with Professor Ulrichi, of Halle, Professor Delitzsch and others, of Leipsic, and many more whom I do not care, for reasons of courtesy, to name. Professor Zöllner had been described to me in London by Slade's persecutor, Dr. Ray Lankester, as a recluse, suffering from a repulsive disease on one side of his face, and as having few pupils and no reputation in the University. After an introduction to Professor Zöllner, I found that this picture is a highly colored partisan caricature. It is true I was able to buy photographs of nearly all the other professors, but could not find a picture of Zöllner, and so was obliged to call on the man with no portrait of him in my mind except Lankester's. I took an English edition of the Boston Monday Lectures on Spiritualism with me. Perhaps this audience will allow me to say that this volume, which has not yet been issued as a book in America, has been quite carefully analyzed again and again by conservative authorities abroad, and that the positions taken in it on spiritism have not been de-

nounced. One or two obscure conservative authorities in this country misapprehended some of my positions, and tried to raise the cry of heresy; but even more conservative authorities abroad, when they have seen the lectures in consecutive order and in correct reports, have not been thus misled. In Calcutta the substance of this book was circulated by missionaries as an antidote to spiritualism among the Hindus. Spiritualism is Potiphar's wife, and my name is Joseph. I make this remark chiefly for the benefit of the New York "Observer," which once had in its hands a certain coat of mine, and gravely and slanderously insisted that this was the individual himself who had cast off the garment and left it behind him, for cause.

Professor Zöllner lived with his mother on Gellert Strasse in Leipsic, a bachelor, in a stately house of the German style. In a study, not palatial, but most convenient and spacious, he received his visitor; and the cordiality of the man, his ability, and his balance were noticeable at the first glance. He speaks English with considerable freedom; but our conversation was chiefly in German. Professor Zöllner was born in 1834. He is a man somewhat above the medium height, rather thick-set, of slightly stooping but vigorous shoulders, head of good size and shape, brunette complexion, dark eyes, and hair of tolerably fine texture. His predominant expression in face and bearing is that of a cheerful, enthusiastic, and incisive intellectual courage. He impresses you at once as a man of mental power, and also as one of geniality and social warmth. The German words

Heiterkeit and *Gemüthlichkeit* describe the predominant moods which he exhibited when I saw him. It is true that the right side of his face is enlarged, and the cheek and mouth look as if he had some object of the size of a small apple between the teeth and cheek. There is, however, little or no discoloration of the complexion, and, so far as I could learn, no disease except this enlargement. His mother, otherwise a woman of rather distinguished appearance, has an unfortunate wen or tumor on the left side of her face. Why do I go into these matters? Because a man like Ray Lankester can stoop to an attempt to disgust you with Zöllner by mentioning some little personal defect with which he was born. In Professor Zöllner's conversation you soon forget the blemish with which he was brought into the world. In this photograph of him [showing a picture] the likeness is so taken that the unnatural shape of the cheek is not prominent. The head, you notice, is full and round in all its departments, and may be fairly presumed to be the seat of that balance of faculties which we call common sense. Ray Lankester's picture of Zöllner, and other pictures I had had drawn of him by his heated German opponents, I came to regard as mischievously misleading.

Among other inquiries which I made of Professor Zöllner was the question what he thought of various recent German books on spiritism. I obtained from him a list of German volumes on transcendental physics and related themes; but it was a short one, and I was particularly pleased to find how well winnowed it was. Even in Germany many poor books

have been issued ; but there is no such deluge of rubbish on this matter as in England, and especially in the United States. After a great deal of conversation about German writers on his themes, Professor Zöllner invited me to call on an American spiritist who was then in Leipsic, but whom I shall not name here. This American had a reception given him in London ; and no less a man than Alfred Russel Wallace, the great naturalist, affirmed publicly that his claims were worthy of attention. Recommended thus, he came with his wife to Leipsic, and brought with him a volume which I suppose has not been published, although it has been copyrighted, entitled the "Christian Spiritual Bible." It is necessary for me to describe the character of this book, for I must tell you what occurred in my interview with this gentleman in presence of Professor Zöllner, in order that I may show you what his attitude is concerning our American spiritism. This man was the son of a distinguished professor in the United States, who was once an atheist, but afterward became a spiritualist and a vigorous defender of his new faith. The man who issued this book is a person very far from having the appearance of a fanatic. I would not mention the case in detail, if he had not been a person apparently of judicial mind. He is a lawyer, and he conversed with Professor Zöllner and myself in the coolest manner. You know the English temperament endures in this country wherever the rainfall is heavy ; for instance, in Maine, in Virginia, in Kentucky, and in the Champlain Valley. This man was of the English-American type, and seemed to be

very unlikely to be misled by any excitement, emotional or imaginative. Nevertheless, he claimed that he had received from his father, the deceased professor, a Bible which is to supersede the old one, and that the proof-sheets of this book, in the presence of several persons, had been dematerialized, taken in an invisible state into the other world, corrected and sent back, and that, therefore, there could be no mistake about the revelation. Now, I wished to see how a dose of characteristic American spiritistic medicine would operate on the sound intellectual stomach of a German professor, and, therefore, I consented to accompany Professor Zöllner to an interview with this redoubtable representative of modern revelations.

The blasphemous claim is made in the "Christian Spiritual Bible" that, in a closed camera at Terre Haute, Indiana, a photograph was taken of our ascended Lord. The frontispiece in this book, a copy of which I hold in my hand, is a picture which claims to have been produced from a negative obtained in that camera. But, as gentlemen in the rear can see [Mr. Cook was holding the book open toward them], the picture is nothing but a reproduction of a common lithograph, which, I presume, many of us have seen again and again in the print-shops ever since we were boys in our teens — the exact face! The claim is further made in this volume that photographs in closed cameras have been obtained of all the apostles, and of most of the great characters of religious history, as materialized in a glorified human form. It seems blasphemy to repeat these words; but that is the style of book which was

presented to Professor Zöllner as resting for its authority on the spiritistic communications of which he had confessed the reality. I supposed the author of this book, from all that Professor Zöllner had told me of him, to be one of the most extravagant of the wildest tribe of American spiritists, and I agreed to call on him chiefly that I might see what Professor Zöllner would say in regard to this wildness. This man considered himself the representative of his father's present advanced wisdom, and as the instrument employed by the higher classes of spirits for the introduction of enlarged views of Christianity into the world. I was shocked and alarmed by the claim which he made, that, through the aid of the Terre Haute, Indiana, medium, he had frequently seen the risen Saviour of mankind, and had been intrusted, through him, with this Spiritual Bible, with copies of which he was to enrich German professors. The work was to be given away, and after some changes and improvements, was to be published in America. He wished distinguished men in Germany to send him questions, to which he believed he could obtain answers from the same oracle from which all his other information had been obtained. I had the most vehement disrespect for that oracle of which in America I had heard only evil, and I could hardly keep myself in a mood of social courtesy as he went on describing what he had learned there and at other similar American shrines.

In noticing this topic of the "Christian Spiritual Bible" I am not speaking quite at random; for the latest spiritistic fashion is to produce Bibles of this

kind. There was given to me the other day the prospectus of a mighty book, as large, nearly, as one of our pulpit Bibles, containing revelations which, it is claimed, are to supersede Christianity. It is called "Oahspe," and is represented to have been written by the dictation of angels through a certain New York medium. It is not worth buying, even as a literary curiosity. It is worth mentioning, however, side by side with this other Christian Bible of the spiritual sort, in order that you may see from the floating of these air-bubbles which way certain currents run. The bubbles amount to nothing, but the currents amount to much.

In the interview with the American spiritualist, as I wished to see the effect of nonsense on Zöllner, I remained as quiet as I could. Our expounder spoke only in English; but Zöllner understands this fairly well, and he maintained a most surly silence as the flood of the lawyer's talk went on. According to this Spiritual Bible there have been four incarnations of our Lord; the first in Isaac, the second in the author of the Bhagvat Geeta, the third in Sakya Muni, and the last in Christ. Our Lord, therefore, personally taught the Old Testament religion and also that of the uncorrupted Indian Scriptures, as well as that of the New Testament. In the latter only the Gospels are to be taken as wholly authoritative representations of religious truth. This man had seen his father, as a materialized spirit, transform water into wine. Some of the manufactured liquid was shown to us in a vial. Besides the photograph of the ascended Christ, which had been ob-

tained in a closed camera, at least twenty other photographs of the leaders of the world's religion in past ages had been obtained in the same way. Zöllner plainly grew more and more impatient as this narration proceeded ; but the personal appearance of the narrator and of his wife was so respectable that we could not, at a first interview, venture to call them dupes to their faces. Alfred Russel Wallace, as we were reminded, had indorsed the claims of this American as worth attention, and it appeared to be his object to obtain some good word for himself from Zöllner ; but he did not get it. In my presence Zöllner politely excused himself from acceding to the rather urgent demand that he would distribute copies of the Scriptural Bible to several learned men in Germany.

The moment we were out of the room and walking together on the street, Professor Zöllner, with German warmth and enthusiasm, took your lecturer by the arm and burst forth into a denunciation of the atrocious absurdity of building convictions like those of the man we had just seen on such evidence as had been placed before us. I said little, for I wished to notice what the natural posture of Professor Zöllner's mind would be under the circumstances. I wished to observe how the huge and nauseating dose which had been administered would act on his intellectual stomach. It was a most powerful and swift emetic. Zöllner admitted that he had himself witnessed enough to make the theory that spirits can assume a material form credible to himself, but he thought that all we had heard was bet-

ter evidence of the fact of modern demoniacal possession than of anything else. "One revelation is enough," said he, "and our conscience and reason are given us to be used here and now with all caution and courage, no matter what comes to us from other spheres of existence." His conviction was that only a man utterly unscientific and deficient in common sense could give credence to communications such as are contained in that volume.

It was as a Christian spiritualist that Zöllner had been approached by this representative of American revelations. It was as a believer in Christianity and as a man of science that Zöllner repelled the pretensions of the "Christian Spiritual Bible." I finally told Zöllner that what we had heard was not an unfair specimen of much that American spiritualists are familiar with in speech and in print. I enlarged on the moral mischief spiritualism is doing in various quarters of my own country, and on the desirableness of some scientific explanation of its alleged facts as a means of preventing the spread of poisonous opinions and practices among thoughtless and ill-informed people. Zöllner had lately had many correspondents who had sent him news from America, giving rose-colored views of the condition of spiritualism there; but for the mass of letters which had reached him he expressed only intellectual disdain and moral disgust. I told him what I could of the obscure but terribly real underground work of spiritualism in America, and of the horror which its practical effects as a religious faith inspire even in many who think its phenomena worthy of scientific investigation.

Zöllner admitted frankly that, to his mind, the existence and agency of evil spirits were much better proved than those of good. The author of this book to which Zöllner's attention had just been called had denounced the mass of American spiritualists as "the dupes of earth-spirits or demons," and Zöllner seemed inclined to think the author himself a similar dupe. The emetic worked with such power that I had little doubt left of the intellectual health of Professor Zöllner's mental stomach. Nor did I wonder at his disgust at finding himself quoted as an authority by spiritualists of a type with which he has not the slightest affinity.

Next morning I called on Zöllner at his rooms, and he showed me the larger part of the original records of his famous experiments. I saw the cord in which abnormal knots were tied; the doubly and trebly sealed slates, between which messages were written; the pieces of coin which are said to have passed through a table in a manner supposed to illustrate the suspension of the laws of the impenetrability of matter; the straps of leather knotted under Zöllner's hands in a way explicable, according to Zöllner, only by the supposition that space has a fourth dimension; the impression of two feet on sooted paper pasted inside two sealed slates; the uninjured wooden rings which were placed around the standard of a card-table; and, finally, this table itself, a stout structure of varnished beechen-wood, which, according to the account given of one of the experiments, wholly disappeared, and then fell down from the top of the room in which Zöllner and other

persons were sitting. The chief facts, or alleged facts, which are detailed in Zöllner's scientific treatises, as observed by himself and Professors Weber, Scheibner, and Fechner, he described to me with much minuteness, with the original instruments before us to make the explanation more vivid. He insisted much on his theory that there is a fourth dimension of space, and said that, if he were to continue his experiments, it would be to substantiate this position. From mathematicians and philosophers of various schools he had collected numerous testimonies in support of this theory, on which he relied for the explanation of many physical phenomena, like the penetrability and disappearance of matter. Zöllner's whole manner in discussing his experiments was circumspect and candid, and yet marked by a degree of natural enthusiasm awakened by the vast possible issues of discoveries in transcendental physics.

Let me part from this theme by describing a sacred scene. Professor Bruhns, a distinguished astronomer of Leipsic University, was buried while I was in the city; and, under the blossoming orchards around his house, it was my fortune to be standing in a crowd near Professor Zöllner, when his mind was greatly solemnized by his having parted recently from an honored colleague. I said to him: "Professor Zöllner, what does your science of transcendental physics lead you to believe as to the Christian miracles?" I remember that there, under the clear German sky, with that corpse lying in its coffin not far from us in the parlor, where Professor Luthardt was delivering the funeral oration, Zöllner turned

and said, in the presence of many: "The reality of the Christian miracles, as indubitable historical facts, is my deepest scientific conviction." More than a dozen times he said that to me, privately; but I recall with especial distinctness his remark there at the edge of the grave, into which he has since gone himself.

Zöllner stood in all our conversations on definitely Christian ground; yet he was not regarded as an active member of any church in Germany. I suppose, of course, that he had been confirmed in his youth, and was a member of some state church; but he was by no means considered as a leader of religious life in Leipsic. His views may be summarized in seven propositions as to the moral and religious bearings of the facts of psychical science.

1. The only safe guide in dealing with spiritualism is the Bible.

2. Modern ages are in need of all the scriptural warnings against necromancy and commerce with evil spirits.

Professor Phelps has published an article with the title: "Ought the Pulpit to Ignore Spiritualism?" and his answer is, "No." I showed that article to no less a man than Professor Christlieb, who brought it back to me and said: "I indorse every word of it." I have heard him teach his own theological students that demoniacal possession is a modern fact. I am giving his opinion, not mine. "Keep your eyes open," he said to me, "and when you are in India study the topics of magic and sorcery and demoniacal possession. Ask veteran missionaries whether

they do not think there is something like demoniacal possession on the earth to-day." I have done that, and I have found that about seven out of ten of these acutest students of paganism do believe in demoniacal possession, and affirm that they can distinguish cases of it from nervous disease. About three out of ten have told me that such cases collapse on investigation.

3. Zöllner held Scriptural views as to good spirits as well as to evil spirits; but he insisted that modern facts which prove the existence and agency of the former are few and far between.

4. The existence of evil spirits and the possibility and actuality of their communications with men he regarded as a demonstrated reality in our century.

5. The outcome of transcendental physics he firmly believed will be the destruction of the anti-supernaturalistic philosophies of our day.

6. He was confident that it will also be the justification of scriptural views of miracles, inspiration, and prophecy.

7. That the supernatural, in the biblical sense of the word, is a reality, he described as his deepest scientific conviction.

Professor Zöllner closed our protracted interviews by impressive reiterations of his opinions on transcendental physics, and of his confidence that his positions could not be successfully attacked, either on scientific or on biblical ground. His opponents, he admitted, were many and influential, but their criticisms amounted to little in presence of the combined testimony of Weber, Scheibner, and Fechner, to mat-

ters of fact. Luthardt, as a great theologian, was a believer in demonology, and so were many of the professors of theology in Germany; and yet Zöllner felt himself obliged to complain of the uncandid attitude of Christian teachers toward his reassertion of what he conceived to be simply the biblical view of good and evil spirits. His hearers at the University, he admitted, were few at present; but he hoped he had some hearers in the world at large. In the arena of science, in spite of determined opposition, he believed that Professor Crookes, of England, and himself, were, and would continue to be, victors in maintaining that there is scientific modern evidence of the existence of good and evil disembodied spirits. Denying the trustworthiness of spiritistic communications as sources of religious knowledge, he was rather a biblical demonologist than a spiritualist. He believed that the progress of transcendental physics will bring into the field of Christian apologetics in another century a new host of facts rendering more invincible than ever the high fortresses of Christian truth, which have so often seen battle, but never defeat. At the end of our last interview, Professor Zöllner, in the clear morning sunlight, sat down at his organ, on one side of his study, and played and sang Luther's hymn: "Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott." I was to see him no more on this side of the grave. A few months later, under the Southern Cross, news came to me that he had passed into the world into which all men haste.

V.

OPPONENTS OF PROFESSOR ZÖLLNER'S
VIEWS ON SPIRITUALISM,

WITH A PRELUDE ON

AMERICAN AND FOREIGN TEMPERANCE CREEDS.

THE ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTY-FIFTH LECTURE IN THE
BOSTON MONDAY LECTURESHIP, DELIVERED IN
TREMONT TEMPLE, FEBRUARY 5, 1883.

"A school-house on every hill, and no saloon in the valley."—
IOWA.

"The eye of the age is fixing its gaze upon constitutional prohibition as the goal towards which society is advancing. The index finger of the century points to it." — DANIEL DORCHESTER.

"According to my judgment, no one has succeeded in explaining the facts attested by Zöllner and other German professors by the theory of deception, illusion, or jugglery. Nor has any one distinctly shown that these facts can be explained only by the action of spirits not in the flesh." — ULRICI, *Letter of August 16, 1881*.

"Proinde ita persuasum sit, intestabilem, irritam, inanem esse, habentem tamen quasdam veritatis umbras." — PLINY, *on Magic*.

PRELUDE V.

AMERICAN AND FOREIGN TEMPERANCE CREEDS.

THE law of averages, as exhibited in the experience of life assurance companies during the last forty years, has once for all triumphantly justified the temperance principle of total abstinence. [Applause.] Among serious and thoroughly well-informed persons debate is over on this matter. Yes, my luxurious friend; yes, my moderate drinker in the pulpit [laughter], you are marked men, because benighted and belated. [Applause.] When I was in London, I took much pains to ascertain exactly the facts as to the experience of British life assurance societies in making a distinction between moderate drinkers and total abstainers. Every one knows or ought to know that for nearly half a century now many of the best life assurance societies of England have insured moderate drinkers and total abstainers in separate sections, and that *a bonus has been paid to the sections made up of total abstainers of seven, thirteen, seventeen, and in some cases twenty-three per cent. over that paid to the sections of moderate drinkers.*

Here are a few commercial facts of the largest philanthropic significance. I have in my possession an original letter from one of the foremost agencies for life assurance in London, and the statement is con-

tained in it that for fifteen years the society has been accustomed to pay every five years bonuses to its two sections. One of these is made up of total abstiners, and the other of moderate drinkers. The result has been, during the past sixteen years, that there have been issued 9,345 policies on the lives of moderate drinkers, that is, of those who are not strictly abstinent in the use of alcoholic liquors, and 3,396 on the lives of total abstiners. Of the former 524 have died, but 91 only of the latter, or less than half the proportionate number, which, of course, would be 190. Less than one half the number of abstiners have died, compared with the number that died among non-abstiners who were strictly temperate, and this in an experience of sixteen years! I hold in my hand the circulars of a very celebrated life assurance society, which I shall not name, for fear you will say I wish to advertise it, although it is not an American society, and I read in this official document that in 1872, 1875, and 1878 the bonus to the temperance section was fourteen per cent. higher than in the general department, while the bonus for 1881 in the temperance section was twenty-three per cent. higher. I will name a single one of the great life assurance companies in England because its reputation is well established and I cannot be suspected of having any improper motive for giving its career publicity. I refer to the United Kingdom Temperance and General Provident Institution. In England its experience is often cited to show the superior value of teetotal lives, as compared with those of moderate drinkers. The institution

insures members in two sections: one in which all the members are total abstainers; in the other, moderate drinkers, —all intemperate persons being, of course, excluded. The two sections are exactly alike in every other respect, about 20,000 lives being insured in the General Section, and 10,000 in the Temperance Section. Returns of the expected and actual claims in both sections for fifteen years, from 1864 till 1875, show that in the General Section 3,450 deaths were expected, and that 3,444 took place; whereas, in the Temperance Section the expected deaths were 2,002, and the actual deaths only 1,433. During the year 1879 the expected claims in the Temperance Section were 195 for £40,844; the actual claims were 164 for £28,690. In the General Section 305 were expected for £64,343, the actual having been 326 for £74,950. The quinquennial bonuses in the Temperance Section have been seventeen and one half per cent. greater than those in the General Section.

To summarize details which I might easily make voluminous, the experience of nearly forty years and the insurance of more than 100,000 lives in societies making a distinction between temperate non-abstainers and total abstainers have proved that under the law of averages a bonus of from seventeen to twenty-three per cent. must be paid to the sections of total abstainers.

Where is the church, where is wealthy society, where are our circles of culture and advanced thought, where are our serious and intelligent young men, that they are not awake to these stern facts of

mere business ? I have been citing to you not temperance documents, but the reports of life assurance societies. They are not fanatical organizations; they are not governed by this or that pet theory as to temperance reform. Here is cool, stern business sagacity applied to one of the most complicated commercial matters; and the outcome we have in this great proposition, sustained by the most exact application of the law of averages, that nearly twenty-five per cent. bonus must be paid to total abstainers above what is paid to moderate drinkers. Of course many of these total abstainers have not been such for all their lives. Their health may have been injured in many cases by early indulgences. By and by, when these societies come to have sections filled by men who have been total abstainers from birth, the average of bonuses will be higher to the temperance sections. You ought, also, to keep in mind constantly that the section not made up of total abstainers is not a section of drunkards, but that it consists of those who are merely moderate drinkers, respectable men, most of them only wine drinkers.

For one, I regard this state of the facts concerning the law of averages in life assurance societies as altogether the most incisive argument that can just now be named in support of the principle of total abstinence. I have in my possession original letters from secretaries of life assurance societies in the northern and southern hemispheres. I refrain from citing a single American life assurance company, because I will not weaken this argument by allowing you to suspect that I have been asked to publish these facts.

I beg you to investigate this matter carefully for yourselves. The law of averages in life assurance societies is now the pedestal of adamant on which stands triumphant for all future time, in the name of science, the abused and once even humiliated principle of total abstinence. [Applause.]

British and American temperance methods and creeds differ somewhat, to our disadvantage. Undoubtedly, we have carried the legal remedies for intemperance further than Europe has done. No portion of the foreign part of the world that I have visited has shown me anything like our advance in temperance legislation. No portion has gone beyond what we have in some past times attained in the use of the moral method of repressing intemperance; but at present we are fanning the air with the legal wing of the temperance reform and seem to have forgotten the moral wing in large degree. British temperance circles at the present moment are more emphatic in church efforts and in the endeavor to produce, through secular organizations, a right impression on the masses of the population than we are.

Allow me to raise a serious note of warning against trying to fly the temperance cause with one wing. Whenever we have used only the legal wing or only the moral wing, the flight of the temperance reform has been a sorry spiral. It always must be such under similar circumstances. In the temperance movement we have mere agitation pitted against avarice and appetite. Agitation is a spasmodic force at best; appetite and avarice are both constant

forces. It requires great assistance from Almighty Providence to obtain the attention of a whole state or nation ; and, when you have secured this, it requires great assistance to keep the drowsy public attentive long enough to carry an election. Agitation in church and state is our chief force against the solid ranks of the whiskey rings and against the impassive brutal forces of appetite. With a fifth of our population in cities, I beg leave to say that there is not a feather in either of the two great temperance wings that we can dispense with. One of the most mischievous things in the temperance cause appears to me to be the fight of the feathers with each other [applause] ; not only wing with wing, but feather with feather in a single wing.

I had thought of putting upon this board [referring to a blackboard in front of the speaker's desk], and perhaps I had better do so, a graphic illustration of what I mean by two wings. [Taking the chalk, Mr. Cook drew a representation of two wings, saying, as he did so] : If that is the right wing, or legal wing, I should call the lower feather of it the civil damage law ; then I should say, above that we have local option ; and, above that, legislative prohibition ; and, above that, constitutional prohibition ; and, above that, woman's temperance vote. [Applause.] And now, if, on the other side, I must outline, in reverse order, the five feathers of the moral wing, I should put, first of all, at the top, church temperance organizations ; next the efforts of secular temperance societies of all kinds ; next, temperance instruction in schools ; next, the example of what we call the

leading classes, among the highly educated or the very wealthy; and last, business prudence, or your desire to be relieved from taxes caused by the ravages of intemperance. What I assert is, that we cannot fly without the use of all the feathers in each of these wings, and that it is suicidal policy to try to fly without a fair and bold balancing of both the wings at once. The temperance cause cannot make the circuit of the earth in the atmosphere of free institutions unless both the moral and the legal wings are used unitedly and constantly.

Look for an instant at the smallest lower feather of the moral wing — business prudence. I put in one hand all the money we spend for our civil service. It is an enormous amount; about 400 millions a year. Will that weigh down what we spend for liquor? I put in this right-hand scale the liquor bill of the United States, and the left-hand scale goes up. I add to what we pay for the civil service all we pay for the Army; the left hand goes up yet. All we pay for the Navy; it goes up yet. All we pay to Congress, including the river and harbor appropriation bills [laughter]; it goes up yet. All we pay to state governments; it goes up yet. All we pay to county governments and to city governments; this scale, with all these weights in it, goes up yet. I add all we pay to town governments and for common school education out of the taxes on school districts, and yet this scale goes up. The national census bureau informs us that about 700 millions is the amount put into the left-hand scale under the circumstances I have named; but the most

careful statisticians say, and the New York "Tribune" brought these facts before the public, not long ago, that at least 800 millions is the annual liquor bill of the United States. [Sensation.] That is one feather of this mighty wing.

I undertake to maintain unflinchingly what Mr. Gladstone has said, that the intemperance of the Anglo-Saxon races, especially of Englishmen, Scotchmen, and Americans, has injured us more than war, pestilence, and famine. We are the most drunken nations on earth. It is not too much to say that, if we could shake off intemperance as thoroughly as the Hindus and Turks have done, we should probably double the income of the United States and of the United Kingdom.

The Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics has affirmed solemnly in an official document, that intemperance enters as a leading cause into eighty-four per cent. of the crimes brought to the notice of the law in this State; and yet his Excellency, the present Governor of Massachusetts, did not do himself the honor of mentioning intemperance when, lately, in a long message, he passed a fine-tooth comb through the hair of this Commonwealth in search for abuses. [Loud and continuous applause.]

Not to go into detail through all the five different departments of each wing, but asking this intelligent assembly to develop for itself, face to face with our possible American future, every one of the minor portions of my theme, I pause, for an instant, on a comparatively new temperance measure.

For one, I believe most thoroughly in constitu-

tional prohibition. [Applause.] It is a superior form of local option. It takes temperance legislation out of the hands of political parties, and secures for it the support of the people at large. I have spoken for this reform on the platforms of Kansas and Iowa when it was a beleaguered cause. It was my fortune once, in the public park of Topeka, with Governor St. John as chairman, to defend constitutional prohibition when it was exceedingly unpopular ; and yet I felt that the future was in it. I do not know how it is that on this seaboard we sometimes do not now seem to feel the throb of the mighty future of the Republic as our fathers did, and as the people do yet on the Mississippi. Does the breadth of the West inspire great ideas? We, too, have broad outlooks. We have a great river running past our wharves. We call it the Atlantic Ocean. We ought to be able to look across it and see that our temperance example is doing good or evil to the ends of the earth. But the upper half of the Mississippi Valley appears to have a more intense care for the future of its population than we have for that of ours. It listens to the tramp of the coming generations. The sound of centuries yet to be is in the ears of Iowa and Kansas. There is a mighty rustle on the prairies in favor of antidotes for one of the hugest evils of our civilization. The two young states which possess the fattest portions of our continent are making up their minds that they will not allow the cancers of the whiskey rings to eat into their vitals. No temporary defeat will tame the reformatory spirit of these commonwealths. They are leading our nation

and the world in temperance legislation. My conviction is that, if a score of the American states succeed in putting constitutional prohibition on a firm basis, it will ultimately become a national policy. [Applause.] There are at least ten states in the Union whose legislatures are now being petitioned vigorously for constitutional prohibition, — Wisconsin, Michigan, Minnesota, Nebraska, Illinois, Iowa, Ohio, Pennsylvania, New York, and Massachusetts. We have, thank Heaven, about twenty states that are not yet under the heel of great and corrupt cities. As agitation for reform goes on, they may possibly pass constitutional prohibitory laws and make them effective in practice. Let ten states succeed with constitutional prohibition, and ultimately a majority of the states will succeed. Let the day come, and may God speed it, when constitutional prohibition shall be the law in a majority of states of this Union, and it will become a national measure. [Applause.] You say this is a wild hope. Constitutional national prohibition is too great a blessing to expect from commerce, from philanthropy, or from politics. It is not too great a blessing to expect from the Christian Church. [Applause.]

What is the chief mischief in the Church in relation to temperance? We are all under the voluntary system, and sometimes men who are tipplers carry large bags. [Laughter.] I am in no pulpit. I am a friend of the pulpits of the country, and am proud of the courage of our ministry ; but, if I must tell the whole truth, as I try always to do, I shall be obliged to say that, in certain luxurious circles, espe-

cially in the great cities, there is a large amount of wine drinking in what are called the upper portions of society, and so it is hard to preach total abstinence. It is hard to illustrate it by personal practice. It ought not in this country to be hard; but I fear it is becoming harder than it was a few years ago for a minister to defend unflinchingly total abstinence in the presence of the more luxurious members of his congregation. There are some easy and careless men, who love to be called evangelical and thoroughly genuine in their Christianity, who will have wines in large variety, and sometimes stronger liquors, on their tables. This is not true merely of the Pacific Slope; it is true of the Mississippi Valley, the Middle States, and even of New England. These great obstacles to the progress of the temperance cause we must uproot decisively by a tornado of popular sentiment rising outside the luxurious churches. You cannot expect such churches to reform themselves. The people at large must breathe out their indignation against men who stand in the high places of the Church and rent their property for the infamous purposes of the whiskey rings. [Applause.] They must breathe out their indignation against high social examples set in defiance of the dictates of science and even of the commercial experience of our time.

The Church of England Temperance Society, not a fanatical body at all, has two sections — one for total abstainers and one for moderate drinkers. But when it organizes a Rescue Section, and sends agents down into the slums to recover drunkards, it insists

always that these men shall take a pledge of absolutely total abstinence. I maintain that not only every preacher, but every church-member, rich or poor, and most especially if his position as an employer of labor makes him a trellis-work over which many lives run, should be a member of the rescue section of society. [Applause.] This English Church temperance organization, with a double basis, is now being imitated on our shores. That most honored veteran in the temperance cause, William E. Dodge, I believe, gave the imitation his blessing in New York the other day, after hearing Bishop Clark's public defense of it. I cannot quite give it mine. I do not believe in its pledge as to moderate use of alcohol. I never should organize a temperance society on that basis myself. Nevertheless, I cite this movement in the Church of England Temperance Society to show you that, although it is not fanatical and has a double basis, it always puts total abstinence into its rescue work. It insists on the pledge of total abstinence for the young. Let us stand on this lofty example.

Our soft society, connected with fashionable and wealthy ecclesiastical establishments, dearly likes to know what is the sense of the upper ten thousand in the ecclesiastical world. The sense is total abstinence for all who go into the rescue work of society; the sense is total abstinence* for the young; the sense is that the preacher who invites the young convert to the table has no right to put before him the intoxicating cup. A great preacher in London was defending his wine drinking to me, and I said: "Suppose

John B. Gough were a poor inebriate in London and were to be converted, which church would it be better for him to join, — yours, where you set him the example of moderate drinking, and where you put before him, at your own table, intoxicating liquor; or would it be better for him to join Mr. Spurgeon's church, where the pastor sets the example of total abstinence?" That argument touched him, although he was invulnerable to every other. That is the argument we are to apply, under our free church system, to the conscience of every man and woman who would belong to the rescue section of religious society. Let us make every feather of the moral wing and of the legal wing of the temperance reform broad and strong. Let the two smite the air side by side, and so support each other, and carry this majestic cause proudly through the vexed atmosphere of history. In a better day than ours, woman's temperance vote will be to the whiskey rings what lightning is to the oak. [Applause.]

LECTURE V.

OPPONENTS OF PROFESSOR ZÖLLNER'S VIEWS ON SPIRITUALISM.

THE trustworthiness of so-called spiritistic communications has been disproved over and over. There is really no scientific evidence of their reality. But, granting their reality, there is predeterminate effort, apparently, on the part of any disembodied agencies that communicate with us to prove that their own communications are not trustworthy. The supernatural is more than the superhuman. If I were to grant the reality of the alleged facts of spiritism, they would prove only the reality of the superhuman, and not of the supernatural, in the biblical sense. I repel, therefore, the fear of those who think that, to investigate this subject, is to throw open the whole question of the trustworthiness of the Scriptures. It is not that at all ; it is not that in the mind of serious investigators of this topic, of whom there are not a few in England and Germany. It is not that at all in the mind of the great theologians in Europe, who, as I happen to know, are, many of them, believers in the fact of demoniacal possession in our day. Let the fact be proved. Let it be shown that there is scientific modern evidence of the truth of the biblical doctrines concerning good and

evil spirits, and all that we shall then need to do is to teach these doctrines without abatement.

Scientific supernaturalism is a star yet below the horizon in the sky of exact research ; nevertheless, I believe it to be a light which is sure to rise, and which will probably illuminate the terrestrial, as well as the celestial, outlook of the next century.

I am, however, an anti-spiritualist, because I think there is already evidence enough that, if spiritism should turn out to be more than a *perhaps*, it would be simply a set of proofs that the biblical doctrine concerning evil spirits is true to the facts of modern experience. Undoubtedly, good spirits are all around us. On biblical authority, I believe that we are surrounded by a cloud of witnesses in the invisible world ; and I am perfectly willing that this should be shown to be true on modern evidence also, for I am not at all alarmed by the prospect that a new revelation will come out of these chatterings and peepings, which have for centuries been before the world, and have produced nothing worth mentioning seriously, except moral disorder.

But, my friends, I am exceedingly anxious that you should see that the opposition to any assertion of the reality of these phenomena is vigorous, acute, profound, and no doubt the most thoroughly so in the loftiest quarters. I took great pains to meet the opponents of Professor Zöllner. Possibly I shall not be violating confidence if I give you the opinion of a distinguished German professor as to what the present policy of the pulpit should be concerning spiritualism. He is a revered teacher whose

name is known on both sides of the sea. Zöllner was his colleague in Leipsic University. I shall never forget his gestures, as he expressed his opinion. "This," said he, "is the proper attitude to take as yet concerning spiritism," and he put his hands over both ears and shut his eyes tightly and closed his mouth. If I were to shut my mouth, I should keep my eyes open; and if I were to shut mouth and eyes, I should keep my ears open. Probably this professor meant to be humorous. A full statement of his opinion would give a very different impression from that which you receive from this anecdote. Nevertheless, there is in the world a great amount of similar and not humorous evasiveness. I must say that I regard it as unmanly, unscientific, and untimely. There is such enormous mischief being done by spiritualism that on this topic we have no right to shut either ears or eyes or lips. For one, I propose to assert liberty for all three of these organs, and especially for the human reason and conscience in the examination by the scientific method of any facts that may come before us.

Professor Wundt, of Leipsic, is the great opponent of Zöllner. The result of our conversation gave me nothing with which to rebut Zöllner's claims as to matters of fact. I asked for references to the best German literature against spiritualism, and I beg you to notice that the only reply I received from this chief antagonist of Zöllner was that the ablest and most conclusive reply to Zöllner anywhere made, as yet, was that by our Professor Stanley Hall, who lately was a student at Leipsic. Most of us know

what Professor Hall has published; and, if that is the best that can be said against Zöllner, I, for one, think the topic is yet worthy of investigation. I have high respect for Professor Hall; and am thankful for many facts which he has brought to our knowledge; but nobody here regards his reply as really adequate in this case. I asked Wundt if Zöllner was to be considered insane. I was very much interested in the answer that Wundt—not forgetting his honor—would make to this inquiry. I did not think more highly of the man when he cringed a little and said, rather lightly, that, since the publication of his last volume of scientific treatises, Zöllner must undoubtedly be considered as probably crazy. I had heard it vehemently asserted by two or three irresponsible private students at Leipsic that Zöllner had one or two relatives who had been insane at some distance back in his line of ancestry; but I could procure no definite facts whatever to show that Wundt's light charge had behind it a scintilla of evidence. When a man brings forward a statement of this kind and does it lightly, the talk is a boomerang, such as the savages in Australia use, and smites the thrower. When I told him that I had seen Bellachini, the court conjurer of the Emperor William, perform his best exploits, Wundt went on to affirm that the feats of this magician were as inexplicable as those of Slade. "I cannot explain what Bellachini does," said Wundt; "nor can I explain what Slade does, and what Zöllner and three or four other scientific German professors say they saw." I asked him if he supposed the affidavit of Bellachini, that

he cannot explain what Slade does, was genuine; and he replied that he believed it was. The document was quoted everywhere, and Bellachini had never denied its authenticity. I happened to have a copy of the affidavit with me in the appendix to the English edition of Zöllner's "Transcendental Physics," and called Wundt's attention to the paper. As I handed him the book, he saw Zöllner's name on it, and asked what book this was, and cringed again, in a peculiar way, as he read the title-page. He admitted that many German theologians believe that there is modern evidence of the existence and agency of evil spirits; but these teachers, he thought, were only half enlightened. The secretary of Du Bois Reymond had explained and paralleled Slade's slate-writing. Professor Wundt believed that an explanation of the methods of performing this trick was for sale in Berlin at a high price. Ulrici, who had at first discussed, with much earnestness, Zöllner's facts, was now, according to Wundt, disposed to withdraw a little from his earlier positions, and to represent spiritualism as a question, indeed, and a scientific question, and yet as only a question.

Allow me to ask you to notice that I am rather inclined to believe that what is called slate-writing in spiritistic circles is a trick. Nevertheless, I have never seen any good proof that it is a fraud, and I am searching for such proof. Many of you have found it, perhaps, and are perfectly satisfied that the feat can be explained. I know that a kind of slate-writing is produced by conjurers and performers of the art of legerdemain; but in Germany, though many

such imitations have appeared, none of them seem to be accepted as really genuine parallels. I have myself seen slate-writing produced under circumstances which I once detailed before this assembly, and which persons who were experts in that investigation pronounced inexplicable at the time by any theory of fraud. We did not say there was no fraud in it; we did not affirm that it was not a trick; but we said that we could not explain it. Although inclined to think slate-writing a trick, I deny the applicability to that case of any so-called exposures of which I have heard. It is said that the very psychic who performed this writing in my presence has been exposed by certain reporters in Chicago. If so, I rejoice. No man is likely to be more glad than I am to have such a trick thoroughly uncovered. I have heard that, on the platform of this very temple, a gentleman who did not *Wait* afterward for advice, when he absconded with certain funds of the church over which he was settled, explained this writing. It may be he did; but a gentleman who saw what I saw in the house of Mr. Epes Sargent was not satisfied that the case was parallel at all. He is a gentleman of high mental training, of the coolest judgment, and a most pronounced anti-spiritist. I will not name the gentleman this morning, although he is a friend of mine and my family physician; but he published over his own name a statement that the exposure on this platform was really no exposure at all of what we saw. He does not state that what we saw was not a trick; but he asserts his belief that the trick has not yet been exposed. Let us expose fraud mer-

cilessly ; but let us be perfectly fair. Let us see to it that we are not doubly swindled — first by tricksters among the spiritualists, and then by tricksters who expose the tricksters. I rejoice in the efforts of all honest exposers of spiritistic mediums.

Let me be serious here, for I stand at the edge of a grave containing one who was dear to me as a brother. He was just entering upon what I hoped would be the most splendid part of his scientific career. It seems to me only yesterday that I saw him in vigorous health, full of intense anticipations concerning the progress of his own researches, and laying the widest plans for the future. Europe knew him. Some of his volumes had been translated into the German tongue. I suppose him to have been the most profound student of nervous diseases that the ranks of our younger medical men contained. He was a prolific author, and was rapidly transmuting the more hasty work of his early years into the solid work of his maturity. Seized by pneumonia, my classmate, my room-mate, my friend, Dr. George M. Beard, of New York city, has passed into the world into which all men haste. I have the most pathetic joy, in the midst of my tears, in repeating before this assembly his last words: "Let some one take up and carry on my investigations."

Do not accuse me, in these circumstances, of wishing to repress efforts to expose all the subtilities of fraud in connection with spiritistic circles. There is no more glorious work into which spiritists themselves can enter for the benefit of their own cause than to do this, and certainly they should be seconded

by the keenest wisdom of the medical profession. I would have America imitate Great Britain and organize a dialectic society, like that of which Sir John Lubbock was chairman, and put into it some of the best men who can spare time to expose thoroughly spiritistic tricks and half-truths, for the purpose of putting an end to mischief of enormous proportions among those who believe in the trustworthiness, as well as in the reality, of alleged spiritistic communications. I would have the work of my friend, in carrying on the study of trance and various diseases of the nerves, pushed forward until we have a science of the nervous system. We do not possess it yet. It is time in our age of the world that the unexplored remainders of the human constitution should be illuminated, if possible, to the last fraction. It may be that we shall find in them nothing more than we now have, or even less; but in Heaven's name let us explore the unknown in our own organisms.

Ulrici, the foremost philosopher of Germany since the death of Lotze, assured me that neither Professor Christiani, nor Du Bois Reymond's secretary, nor any one else, to his knowledge, has ever explained Zöllner's alleged facts as to slate-writing. All Germany would ring with the explanation if any real one were given. He regards spiritualism, however, as only an "if" and a "perhaps," — a scientific question, indeed; but nothing more than a question. He believes that it is *not* well for students to spend their time on this matter, for they are likely to be misled. Only the acutest experts are safe when they enter on this path. He would dissuade average citizens

of any country from attending séances. He would not cultivate spiritualistic knowledge as a popular matter; but he would have elaborate investigation concerning it made by men thoroughly equipped as experts. What good does he expect from even their investigation? Precisely the benefit which has been prophesied often on this platform; first, the exposure of fraud, and, next, the discovery of any important truths yet veiled from us in the unexplored remainders of the human constitution. He believes that we do not need any more evidence of immortality than we now have from the Scriptures and from reason. At least, they who are believers in the Scriptures and in the supernatural voices of conscience need no more evidence; but materialists may need more. What Zöllner called transcendental physics, Ulrici thinks of great importance in the current conflict with materialistic, atheistic, and agnostic doubt. (See the "New Englander" for 1882, and January, 1883, for translations of Wundt's and Ulrici's articles on Spiritism.)

To summarize, then, this whole discussion as to advanced thought in German philosophy:—

1. Professor Zöllner had and has vehement opponents in the highest circles of learning in Germany; nevertheless, his alleged facts have reached the ear of science in Europe.

2. What is needed is a repetition of his experiments and thorough researches in the whole matter, in obedience to all the verifying laws of the scientific method.

It was my fortune to assure Professor Zöllner that

Americans do not believe in the psychic he employed ; that we regard him as a cheat ; that we have proved him over and over to be in many things a fraud ; and that England came near putting him in jail for practising jugglery. "Very well," said Professor Zöllner ; "here in Germany Mr. Slade always acted as a man of honor." I said : "The world does not believe in him. Your supreme duty to science is to repeat your experiments with some one who is not under suspicion, and in circumstances wholly above the charge of fraud."

3. It has not yet been scientifically proved that the so-called slate-writing is not a trick, and the claim is frequently made in high quarters that it has been performed by methods of jugglery.

4. Professor Zöllner was not a believer in the trustworthiness, though he was in the reality of spiritistic communications.

5. He ought not to be called a spiritist, but rather a biblical demonologist.

6. He believed that the Bible is the only safe guide as to our theories concerning spirits, good and bad.

7. He was a thorough believer in the biblical doctrine of the supernatural. He regarded the progress of psychical science as certain to confirm among men of science faith in the supernatural in its biblical sense.

8. *If it should ever be shown, as it has not been yet, that Zöllner's alleged facts were real ones, the only scientific conclusions that can be deduced from them are those Christian ones which he drew from them.*

I part here from Germany with a full heart. The waterfalls, the forests, the roseate peaks, the stealthy glaciers of Switzerland are around us. As I look back from the summit of the St. Gothard Pass, let me lift up my hands in thankfulness to Almighty God for the freedom, the earnestness, and the breadth of research which characterize the best universities of the Fatherland. Much skepticism, undoubtedly, has come out of Germany; but the antidote to it has been provided in Germany also, by the most careful study. Here the mythical theory arose; here it was wounded to the death. Here originated the haughty claim concerning myths and legends, that they are capable of explaining all that is called supernatural in the New Testament history; here that theory has been cut off level with the ground from the very roots on which it stood expecting permanent life. In this Germany there is a certain amount of obscure, mystical thinking; there are torpid churches enough; but the heart of the country, the heart of its learning, is sound, because truly loyal both to clear ideas and to spiritual purposes. The blood of the Reformation is in Germany. The head of a Melancthon, the heart of a Luther — I believe these can be harmonized with the head of a Helmholtz, a Kant, or a Lotze. As I looked back from the Alps on Germany, seeking for some soul large enough to comprehend Luther and Melancthon, and Goethe and Helmholtz, whom could I take? No one is large enough to comprehend all these souls; but I left German soil carrying in my hands one of the works of Jean Paul Richter, largest soul of German literature, profoundly

Christian — not in all respects what I could wish in his convictions as to religious truths, but a spirit so large that a denial of immortality appeared to him to be philosophical lunacy: You put together Melancthon, Luther, Goethe in his ripest years, Richter, Kant, Lotze, and Helmholtz, and in these seven, as you look back from the Alps, you behold a German constellation fit to lead the ages.

VI.

ADVANCED THOUGHT IN ITALY AND
GREECE.

WITH A PRELUDE ON

PROBATION AT DEATH.

THE ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTY-SIXTH LECTURE IN THE
BOSTON MONDAY LECTURESHIP, DELIVERED IN
TREMONT TEMPLE, FEBRUARY 12, 1883.

“Really, the right hand of God is everywhere. In this sense is the God-man — who is at the right hand of God — ubiquitous, that he may anywhere, at any moment, reveal himself in his God-manhood to the willing soul. Such ubiquity, which may be called potential, best explains the vision of martyred Stephen, the vision of Paul near Damascus, and the beatific vision of the dying, so well accredited in instances without number.” — PROFESSOR ROSWELL D. HITCHCOCK, *Journal of Christian Philosophy*, July, 1883, pp. 387, 388.

“Christ is perfect God and perfect and glorified man ; as the former He is present everywhere, as the latter He can be present anywhere.” — BISHOP ELLICOTT.

“The mountain ridges of the wall of the Colosseum stood high in the moonlight, with the deep gaps which had been hewn in them by the scythe of time. . . . The crater of the burnt out volcano once swallowed nine thousand beasts at once and quenched itself with human blood. Here coiled the giant snake five times about Christianity — like a smile of scorn lies the moonlight upon the green arena where once stood the Colossus of the Sun-God. The Star of the North glimmers low through the windows. The serpent and the bear crouch. What a world has gone by !” — RICHTER, *Titan*.

“Earth proudly wears the Parthenon
As the best gem upon her zone ;
And Morning hastes to ope her lids
To gaze upon the Pyramids.”

EMERSON.

PRELUDE VI.

PROBATION AT DEATH.

IMMEDIATE, total, and affectionate self-surrender of the soul to God is demanded of all responsible human beings every instant by conscience, which is the voice of God. Postponement of obedience is disobedience. All delay of surrender to God is rebellion against God. The divine summons is incessant, and refusal to obey it is nothing less than incessant rebellion. Choices are as multitudinous and as instantaneous as thoughts; but the thoughts of a single day no man can number, and yet conscience judges every choice and all the secrets of the thoughts of the heart. A continuous evil predominant choice implies a continuous series of subsidiary evil choices; and so the choices of an evil man succeed each other with the rapidity of thought. The divine voice within the soul constantly whispers "Thou oughtest," and the soul as constantly answers "I will not." It is the repetition of actions that makes them habitual. Repetition is the hammer which forges the chains of habit, and our own free choices wield the hammer.

The supreme word of reason, therefore, speaking in the name of practical wisdom as to the duty of surrender to God, is *Now*. The supreme word of

conscience, speaking in the name of Eternal Right, is *Now*. The supreme word of the scientific school and of the Scriptural school in theology is *To-day*. The supreme word of the siren school and of every form of false liberalism is *To-morrow*, a more convenient season, or, possibly, the intermediate state. Incessant repetition of rebellious resolves, in defiance of incessant solicitations from the divine voice of conscience, must ultimately, under natural law, fix character in the sense of making its moral state permanent.

Hold unflinchingly to the first truths, the fundamental, primary religious verities, that similarity of feeling with God is necessary to peace in his presence, and that the longer we live in dissimilarity of feeling with Him the longer we are likely to do so. It is self-evident that we must love what God loves and hate what He hates, and that otherwise there is no possibility of peace for us in his presence. It is utterly indisputable, also, that the longer we live in the love of what He hates and in the hate of what He loves, the longer we are likely to do so.

As the New England and all sound theology has taught for centuries, when the soul puts forth its first evil choice it takes sides against God. So far forth as depends on itself, it does in that single predominant intention, in that initial moral resolve to rebel, put itself into its spiritual grave. Unless God exerts the special influences of the Holy Spirit upon such a soul, it will never rise out of its grave. The soul that decides once against God continues to be against God until it repents. It is the teaching of

accredited theological science that we have no reason from Scripture to believe that a soul that has sinned even once against God will repent, unless God especially draw it, renew it, and lift it out of death by a spiritual resurrection.

Endeavoring to show from mere reason that there is natural proof that death *may* end probation, I affirm that it is utterly futile for opponents of this position to say that it is a mere guess. If I do not know whether a fortress in which I am placed as commander is to be attacked to-night or to-morrow morning, it avails nothing for me to say: "I fancy that the attack may not be until to-morrow morning." A surmise on that side of the case is worthless. To lean on any guess of that kind would be insanity of the worst sort; but a guess on the other side of the case, even if it is only a guess, will govern my action. "I surmise," so the scout tells me, "that there may be an attack to-night!" I will be ready, in any event. "What I say unto you I say unto all: Watch!" So speak the Scriptures themselves.

Such being the stern facts which constitute the framework of my discussion, I now raise the central question: What constitutes probation by death seen at a distance, by death near at hand, and by death at its supreme moment?

1. Distant views of death have been disregarded, and their natural moral influence persistently resisted, by any one of advanced or middle age who approaches death unrepentant.

2. Such persons as resist the natural moral in-

fluences of death foreseen at a distance may very naturally resist its moral influences when it is close at hand. It is the general experience of the human race, and even of average populations in Christendom, that most men of middle or advanced life die as they have lived. They usually pass out of the world remaining, to outward appearance, in the general moral state in which they have drifted through life.

3. In perhaps seven cases out of ten those who appear to repent, in view of death supposed to be near at hand, show by their lives, when they are delivered from fear of death, that their repentance was not genuine. In proof of the truth of this assertion, I must appeal to the sacred experiences of the pastors around me, in their profound and close studies of human character in its great moral crises.

4. To the unrepentant soul, the discipline of death is one of fear chiefly. This, although the beginning of wisdom, is not the end of it. The moral motives, which include both the fear and the love of God, may be presented more powerfully to the soul in life than they well can be in death.

5. There is probation by comparatively near views of the mountain-range of death and by the thought of what lies beyond it.

6. There is probation in close approach to this range.

7. There is probation in leaving the plain and ascending the slope of the range.

8. There is probation in leaving behind, once for all, the affairs of the world and the temptations of the flesh.

9. There is probation in ascending high enough on the mountain-range of death to have wide outlooks, in the breadth and elevation and seriousness of which the whole aspect of life is changed.

I figure to myself our passage through life to death as like the crossing of the tropical portion of our continent from Atlantic to Pacific, with the Andes in view at a distance. Occasionally, as Wordsworth tells us, we hear far inland the roar of the ocean on the East of life. It is long before childhood ceases to have intimations of immortality. Many a time, on the height of our best experiences in youth, we have wide outlooks, backward as well as forward. For one, I think those elevated experiences which come to comparatively uncorrupted young souls are full of really divine voices and actually supernatural touches of the Holy Spirit. These influences may bring the soul into a natural religiousness, which is not Christianity, indeed, and not sufficient to save the soul; but is a general preparation for the reception of the regenerating truths of our holy faith. I believe, in short, with one of the great fathers of the Church, that the soul is naturally Christian. It usually appears such in the high moments of early life when youth is pure. It is in man, as man, to remember whence he came. It is in man, as man, to find on the summit of his nature the place for an altar to Almighty God. Richter says that on every hill-top, in the summits of the loftiest natures of every nation, will be found an altar to the unseen, personal God.

As we go on in life, and look across the Brazilian

plain towards the sunset, we behold from afar the Andes, the terminal experiences of death. We do not always see them while we are in the dust of the wayside. We are oblivious both of what is behind us and of what is before us when we are among the wild beasts of the forests. We lie down many nights, it may be, under the roaring tempests and the creaking boughs, under terrible tropical rains and lightnings, and listen to the thunders of the passing storm, and forget the rolling of the ocean on the East, and do not even ask whether there is an ocean rolling beyond the Andes at the West. But great moments come again. We ascend the hill-tops. We have far, clear views of the terminal range. And then, sooner or later, we do come to the edge of that range. We perceive vividly that we are leaving the level plain of middle life. We ascend to the beginnings of old age, and the outlook broadens. Sometimes sudden death gives us instantly an elevation to the height of this range, and the quick transition from a low plane of experience to an elevated one brings what seems to be almost a supernatural movement of the soul. The elevated thought and feeling natural to a near approach to death constitute usually a great spiritual experience, and the soul must decide for or against any light that comes to it in this loftier view.

10. Most commonly the summits of the mountains of death are veiled in mists. There are comparatively few deaths in which the faculties of the soul retain their balance and have clear vision to the very summit of transition from time to eternity.

11. Nevertheless, there is in many average cases, before consciousness is lost, a marvelous quickening of conscience and memory when death is expected instantly and by unimpaired faculties.

Physiologists themselves say that in death, after the power of speech, and even of motion, is lost, there may be a quickening of memory bringing the whole life before conscience, because attention is taken off the external world. Draper says ("Human Physiology," p. 562), very suggestively: "Doubtless the mind in the solemn moment of death is sometimes occupied with an instantaneous review of impressions long before made upon the brain, and which offer themselves with clearness and energy, now that present circumstances are failing to excite its attention through loss of sensorial power of the peripheral organs, this state of things having also been testified to by those who have been recovered from drowning." This marvelous awakening of memory may occur even when all the external senses are active. When once, in expectation of instant death, my whole life was thrown before me vividly, as if in panoramic vision, I was exceedingly attentive to what was going on outside of me. When I felt a torch lighted inside my brain, my attention was not taken off external things. I was very anxious to know whether the railway coach, in which I was being thrown down a rocky bank, was to be instantly dashed to pieces, whether it was to take fire, whether my death was to be by a swift concussion with the rocks, or whether I was to be burned alive. The first thing said after the coach struck

and everything inside of it fell into a chaos of wreck, was: "Are there any lights burning? Put them out!" Every passenger had his mind on that thought, the possibility of horrible death by burning. But, although my mind was thus intensely occupied by what was outside of me, the whole of my life, in its moral relations, from earliest youth to the latest hour, flashed before me instantaneously, but vividly.

12. When the faculties of the soul remain unimpaired, there is probation in arrival at the summit of the mountain-range of death and in the outlook beyond.

In life, as in the sky, there are few perfectly clear sunsets. Sometimes, however, the sky is unclouded until the very last, and we may observe the whole outward appearance of the setting orb until it disappears. Such cases, in which the mental and moral faculties seem to be unimpaired to the very end, are exceedingly instructive and deserve the most careful inductive study.

13. What are the experiences of the soul in the supreme moment of death, when an outlook beyond its summit appears to be vouchsafed to some?

In the most remarkable exceptional cases there have been observed in the dying: (1) a starting up of the body, but in a manner different from automatic action; (2) a pointing with the hand, but with a definiteness and steadiness not explicable by automatism; (3) a look as if at the appearance of a sudden vision and most appreciably different from the merely automatic stare; (4) a steady, intense, *intelligent* gaze; (5) frequent mysterious brighten-

ing of the eyes ; (6) a strange luminousness of face ; (7) sometimes the hearing of strange voices ; (8) sometimes emphatic words. It is a fact of science that in the dying the eyes often mysteriously brighten just before they glaze.

14. It is possible that the peculiar experiences here described may all be susceptible of a scientific, physiological, or psychological explanation as wholly subjective in origin.

15. It is perhaps certain that they are thus explicable in many cases.

16. It is improbable, however, that they are thus explicable in all cases. This improbability rests on —

(1.) The earnestness, reality, and unexpectedness of the emotions displayed by the dying in these highest experiences.

(2.) The sameness of the experiences in persons of different temperaments, education, and beliefs.

(3.) The great number of those who have exhibited these signs.

(4.) The differences in minute detail between what occurs in mere trance and hallucination and automatic action of the brain, on the one hand, and what is observed in some of these experiences, on the other.

There are lying here at my side the authentic records of twenty cases illustrating the experiences of the dying in what appears to be an outlook from the summit of death upon a world beyond it.

Here is a famous essay by Frances Power Cobbe entitled "The Peak in Darien ; or, The Riddle of Death." She is no partisan on the side of evangel-

ical theology, but she summarizes in this article a long list of experiences in which just such visions beyond the peak of death appear to have been had by the coolest, most unimpassioned persons in their dying moments. The late Dr. Clarke, a physician of great eminence in this city, published a thoroughly scientific work on "Visions," and its introduction was written by Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes. In that volume, which is sufficiently skeptical as to the objective reality of anything seen in vision by the dying (see pp. 258-272), an admission is made (p. 274) which cannot very easily be set down as mere hallucination. "Probably all such visions as these," says Dr. Clarke, "are automatic. But yet, who, believing in God and personal immortality, as the writer rejoices in doing, will dare to say *absolutely all*? will dare to assert there is no *possible* exception? If life is continuous, heaven beyond and death the portal, is it philosophical to affirm that no one entering that portal has ever caught a glimpse or can ever catch a glimpse, before he is utterly freed from the flesh, of the glory beyond? The pure materialist, sad disciple of Nihilism, may dispute this; but no Theist or Christian will be bold enough to deny it" (p. 272). "There would be no revival of brain-cells, stamped with earthly memories and scenes, but something seen of which the brain had received no antecedent impression and of which the Ego had formed no conception. Entranced by a glimpse of what eye hath not seen nor ear heard and of which man has formed no conception, the gaze of the departing spirit would be riveted upon a glory invisible to his earthly com-

panions. His features would be transfigured, and those around him would be amazed, perhaps appalled, at the sight, as some fishermen were, two thousand years ago, upon a mountain in Galilee, by the transcendent glory of a familiar face." ("Visions : A Study of False Sight," by Dr. E. H. Clarke. Boston, 1878, p. 278.)

You dare not look at the holiest facts of death? You dare not avert your eyes from them! These are verities that hush the house, because they are verities into which we are all drifting. Death is so great a fact that it is the only circumstance we are permitted to see with certainty in our futures. Nothing else is certain; but it is certain that every eye here will glaze, every breath, every pulse, pause, every form grow cold and turn to dust. Nothing in all our future is really certain but our exit. There is nothing so high in life as the opportunity it gives of going up higher; there is nothing so much worth living for in life as death. He is a fool who has not looked through life and obtained such a vision of eternity as to constitute an inspiration. He is a weakling in life who has not leaned forward far enough to obtain an inhalation from the other world for use in this. Thomas Carlyle was always citing Goethe's *Mason's Song*:—

“ Silent before us,
Veiled the dark portal,
Goal of all mortal.
Stars over us silent,
Graves under us silent.
Choose well, your choice
Brief is but endless.

Here in eternity
Eyes to regard you,
Here is all fulness,
Ye brave, to reward you.
Work and despair not."

17. There may be cases when in death, at the supreme moment, the good may see those who have gone before them, and, perhaps, first of all, those nearest and dearest among those that have been taken from them. It is said of the martyr Stephen that he saw heaven opened and Jesus standing at the right hand of God.

18. There may be cases in which the evil may see in death those whom they have injured: a Nero those he has slain; a Charles IX. those he has massacred; and the murderer or adulterer may meet his victims.

19. After this mysterious experience of a supreme outlook beyond death, the soul sometimes retains power enough over the body to speak; and, of course, its probation is not over in such cases.

20. In these cases, therefore, there must be probation by any light which comes to the evil soul or to the good in the supreme moment, for this light must be accepted or rejected.

Allow me to ask you to notice that I make nothing whatever in this argument depend upon the determination of the precise moment or manner of death considered as a physical change, but everything upon its character considered as a spiritual experience. Nor do I insist at all upon those exceptional types of experience which must, indeed, not be overlooked, but are not essential to my chief purpose.

21. A distinction must be made between real and apparent death.

It is true, to be sure, that it is not agreed among men of science precisely when the separation of the soul from the body occurs; but such separation is the ordinary definition of death. This definition is all the better for being trite. It is the accepted definition. There has been a prize offered in France for many years for an unmistakable sign of death. Cessation of the breath is not always that sign, cessation of the pulse is not, for both breath and pulse cease in cases of suspended animation. In saying that the light of eternity sometimes dawns on the soul before the eyes are closed to this world, I assert what to all appearance is scientifically demonstrable; but I, of course, do not mean the full light of eternity.

The physiological truth is that breathing does not cease, usually, until after the eyes glaze, and the eyes brighten before they glaze in many cases, when the faculties are unobscured at the last moment of life. The development of the heat of the body and several other organic functions continue for a time after breath and pulse cease. (See Draper's "Physiology," p. 562.) According to some definitions of death, it does not close until the natural heat of the body passes away.

22. Whether rapid or otherwise, death is the separation of the soul from the body, and probation is not over until death ends.

23. *Probation in death, however rapid, includes time for decision for or against all the light it brings.*

24. *It is rational to believe that he who passes*

through probation by death seen at a distance, and by death near at hand, and by death at its supreme moment, unrepentant, will be so hardened and blinded by resisting all the light of these mighty spiritual experiences that he will never repent.

This position is reinforced by the three great facts already noticed in another connection: (1) that he who comes to death unrepentant must have resisted its natural moral influences, as it is seen from a distance, and so have hardened and blinded his soul by sin against light; (2) that most men of middle or advanced life die as they have lived; and (3) that probably seven cases out of ten of apparent repentance in presence of death turn out not to be genuine if life is spared.

25. Mere reason, therefore, makes it highly probable that death ends probation. Under natural law and the continuous repetitions of moral choices by the soul, probation before death appears to be enough, and probation at death more than enough, to fix character, at least in germ.

26. It has been shown that what reason makes probable on this point the Scriptures make certain.

27. The supreme dictate of practical wisdom coincides demonstrably, therefore, with the imperative and incessant mandate of conscience, with all the unspeakable promptings of the Divine love and mercy, as seen in both Nature and revelation, and with the constantly reiterated command of the Scriptures, and makes total, affectionate, irreversible self-surrender of the soul to God its duty this instant.

Inventing no new theory of probation, I have sim-

ply analyzed notorious facts and found behind them enough to fill our faces with the whiteness of awe in the presence of the natural laws which govern character. My chief propositions are that the light which death brings is not likely to save the soul, but that resistance to this light may ruin the soul. It is not likely to save, for he who has resisted all light up to death is almost certain to resist light in death. It may ruin, for he who resists all light up to death and in death, probably commits unpardonable sin, and fixes the permanent bent of his character. Sinning against the light blinds us to the light, and he who, under the constant summons of God in conscience to repent, constantly replies in the negative, and does so on the approach of death, and in death, and, when the light which the last moment emphasizes or reveals, breaks upon him, may be expected, under natural law, never to repent. "Now is the accepted time; now is the day of salvation." This is the voice of all the constellations in the merely natural sky of reason. It is the voice of all the constellations in the sky of revelation. May God give us wisdom to obey these voices instantly! [Many voices: "Amen!" "Amen!"]

LECTURE VI.

ADVANCED THOUGHT IN ITALY AND GREECE.

CÆSAR'S work is nine tenths undone ; that of Peter and Paul remains. Rome is more theirs than his. Let us not underrate what ancient Rome has done for jurisprudence, literature, and art ; but the relations of Rome, ancient and modern, to Christianity are a yet more important theme.

What is to be said of advanced thought in Italy? Chiefly that it is undermining the Papacy, upsetting Romanism, putting an end to Vaticanism, but not that it is annihilating Catholicism. Separate for me the pure portions of the Catholic faith from the accretions of Vaticanism, Romanism, and the Papacy, and, although I may retain the liberty, even after such sifting, to make many criticisms of the residuum, I should, nevertheless, be obliged to say God-speed to the central parts of the Reformed Catholic faith. Dean Stanley was not without hope that the English Church, the Greek Church, and a Reformed Catholic Church might establish a loose union. If this is a wild expectation, there is, nevertheless, much reason to believe that Catholicism will be slowly purified as the intelligence of the masses of Catholic populations increases. One of Luther's benedictions to Melancthon was : " May God fill your

heart with hatred of the papacy." Melancthon himself did not care to see a reformed Catholicism, even if it had some central ecclesiastical power at Rome, disappear. I do wish to see Romanism, in the sense of Vaticanism, vanish as vapor before the sun, and pass completely out of sight or ken of the human race. I abhor Vaticanism, and Romanism, if by Romanism you mean Vaticanism; but Catholicism, under which term I would summarize the pure parts of the Romish faith, I believe has a long life yet before it in a reformed shape in the Latin world.

What are the prospects of reformed Romanism, as you look on it from the City of the Seven Hills?

In 1191 Celestine III. made the Emperor Henry VI. kneel down before him, and then kicked his crown off his head, in order to show the Pope's prerogative of making and unmaking kings. Gregory VII. obliged Henry IV., Emperor of Germany, to stand three days in the depth of winter, barefooted, at the gate of the Castle of Canossa, to implore his pardon. What has happened since those days? Bismarck tells the German Parliament that neither he nor his nation expects to go to Canossa. Fifteen thousand dollars from poor shop-girls in Great Britain were only a few years ago presented to the Pope by Lady Herbert, of England, and he seems to have needed the gift. The states of the Church, after a thousand years of dark preëminence, have disappeared from the map of Italy. The unofficial secretaries of legation, kept at the Papal Court by several nations, have been withdrawn. The legation from England, in 1874, ceased to have any official

home at the Vatican, and even France is now inclined not to send any representative to the Court of St. Peter. The fact cannot be concealed even from Romanists, that the temporal power of the Papacy has passed away in our time. The alphabetical guide to the Protestant churches in Italy says there are 138 organized Protestant churches, besides assemblies where service is conducted in English, French, and German. There are among the Waldenses 15,000 communicants, and from 8,000 to 10,000 more in the Italian Protestant churches.

At the time of the Armada — that is, in 1588 — Spain alone had forty-three millions of people. England, Wales, and Scotland numbered only about four millions, or fewer than London itself contains to-day. Now, Spain has only sixteen millions, while Great Britain has thirty-six, with colonial subjects swelling the number to more than three hundred millions. The wealth of Great Britain has increased a hundred-fold, while Spain has become impoverished. In France there are more than half a million Protestants, with a thousand Protestant pastors, more than 1,200 Protestant schools, and thirty Protestant religious journals. In Switzerland Romanism had once all, and now has only two-fifths of the population. In Bavaria the Protestants number nearly a third of the population. In Belgium alone does Romanism show vigor.

It has been my fortune to recite these facts in a public lecture almost under the shadow of the Vatican, and I am speaking at this moment from notes used in Rome. In 1851 the Roman Catholics were

25 per cent. of the whole population of England and Wales and Ireland; in 1871, or twenty years later, they were only 19 per cent. Nevertheless, the Pope has recently referred to England as a field of victory for Romanism. The last edition of the "Encyclopedia Britannica" says that Catholics in England and Wales, according to the census of 1877, were barely one million. Roman Catholic churches and chapels increased in England, Scotland, and Wales from 647, in 1850, to 1,543, in 1880; but Protestant churches have increased more, relatively, and there is now a less percentage of Romanists in the British population than at the beginning of the century. Roman Catholicism has not been progressive in England for a quarter of a century. Until within about fifty years all South America was Roman Catholic; but now some twenty Protestant missionary societies are at work there. Mexico once had the richest Roman Catholic establishment in the world; but Protestantism is making great inroads upon its chief cities. In 1800 the Roman Catholics were 0.02 of the whole population of the United States, now they are 12.68. The Evangelical population of the United States in 1800 was 24 per cent. of the whole population; now it is estimated at 70 per cent. In 1800 there was in the United States one Evangelical Protestant communicant for every fifteen of the population; now there is one in five.

What of Count Campello? It was my fortune to meet him in Rome, and to study his career carefully through his own eyes, as well as those of both his friends and opponents. He is one of the signs

of the times as to the probable future of Romanism in Italy; a devout, brave, and able man; a scholar, who drifted out of Romanism because he could not drift out of honesty. He has endeavored, but with little success, thus far, to establish a journal of his own, in which he does not advocate all our various jarring sects of Protestantism. He is very careful not to bring forward fifty-five religions in the place of one. But he stands upon the general principles of Protestantism, and advocates such a religion as will at once reach the heart of the people of Italy and not offend the powers of the state. He is not cringing in his attitude before the civil authorities, neither does he take the position of a craven sycophant before popular ignorance. He attacks Vaticanism boldly, he opposes infidelity vigorously; in short, he is doing admirable Protestant work in the pulpit and on the platform and in the press. The day is coming when he, and men with purposes like his, are likely to have many followers on the Seven Hills.

You stand in Rome and look abroad over the dominions of the Pope in the world, and can hardly fail to be made cheerful by many a prospect of reform; not near at hand, perhaps, but inevitable at last. The temporal power of the Pope has been taken from him, once for all. Say what you please about the possibility of its being finally brought back, it appears to me that the hour has sounded when all serious Romanists themselves should give up this hope. Transfer the seat of the Papacy from Europe to this country, if you please. I should rejoice in such transferral; because, once out of Rome,

the Papacy will not be itself. A certain historic and ecclesiastical glamour will be rubbed off it the moment you put it into another country. Bring it to New York, and you will be bringing a gaudy butterfly into the frosts of the latest Autumn. We are very rude toward gilded things in this country. We have many kinds of sense; but very little historic sense or ecclesiastical sense. The Pope in New York would most assuredly be a humming-bird in March.

What am I to say of Protestantism at large in Italy? What are the present duties of Protestantism on the Seven Hills of Rome? What measures for the advance of Protestantism in Italy ought to be supported by Protestants elsewhere? Among particular measures for the advance of Protestantism in Italy these are very specially important at the present time:—

1. Support of the new Italian national system of education — especially of the institutions equivalent to our common schools and high schools.

2. Churches of aggressive piety.

3. Lectureships in Protestant apologetics.

4. Scientific theological training of preachers.

5. Evangelical services.

6. All methods for the religious culture of the young.

7. Temporary financial assistance to converts in need of employment after ceasing to be Romanists.

8. Purity of life in the Evangelical ministry.

9. Unity among Evangelical sects.

10. Exposure of the errors of the Papacy, as illus-

trated in the history of indulgences, inquisitions, Mariolatry, monasteries, the denial of the Bible to the people, the political pretensions of the hierarchy, and its opposition to the education of the people.

Many a cab-driver in Paris was once a priest. It is very difficult to obtain in Paris reputable employment at the present hour for a priest who has abandoned Romanism. It is almost impossible to do this in the Sacred City of the Tiber. I found Protestant ministers and missionaries substantially unanimous, although not quite so, in the opinion that financial assistance should be given to such converts; not permanently, but from time to time, according to the wisdom of those who study the circumstances in detail in each case. It is really a question of starvation that faces many a man who leaves Romanism in Italy. Many a poor priest will not be received as a teacher, or employed in any position of high trust, if it is known that he has become a reprobate to Romanism. Perhaps very little ought to be said upon this point, after all. Nevertheless, so does Rome differ from London, so does Paris differ from Boston, that temporary assistance of this sort sometimes makes the difference between courage and a craven attitude in one who leaves Romanism. Unless a man can obtain his living, it is hard to induce him to be thoroughly aggressive in his opposition to the faith he abandons in Italy. In twenty-five years no aid of the kind here suggested will be needed.

What is Italy to the world? you ask. What is she to-day to the Romish world? Queen of Romish nations, head of all great Romish forces on this

planet. Conquer Italy for Protestantism and advanced civilization; conquer that land of beauty and of song; conquer that population of devout religious instincts and of marvellous artistic perceptions; conquer that proud people of ancient blood, not yet forgetful of its lineage, and you conquer Romanism throughout the planet.

What was Italy to the world? The most advanced thought of Italy must be learned from the clustered constellations of culture in the deep sky of her classical ages. The azure canopy in which Horace and Virgil, Cicero and Cæsar blaze as fixed stars is yet spread over all educated nations. Among the ruins of the Forum and the Palatine Hill, and along the Appian Way and in the Colosseum and the Catacombs, the air is full of ghosts, with whom you converse of what was and is and is to be. "Torn asunder," says Richter, "are the gigantic spokes of the wheel which once the very stream of the ages drove." Their pathetic fragments are more glorious than all that has taken their place.

No marbles in Italy are more worthy of study than the portrait busts from the classical ages. Until the faces of the emperors and philosophers and orators and poets have not only given up their secrets as pieces of physiognomy, but have been set in their proper relations to history and biography, so that a restoration of the spiritual atmospheres of ancient Rome becomes possible to the student of her ruins, it can hardly be said that he has appreciated the opportunities of a visitor at the Capitoline Museum and the Vatican. A general remark on the ancient

portrait busts is, that the heads and faces are stronger than those of the present Italian public men, though in general more nearly of the same types of form than one would suppose by studying idealized modern illustrations of the Roman countenances in the Augustan age. Often weak, sometimes exceedingly cruel, very frequently coarse and oleaginous in fibre, the classical faces are yet less melted and inwardly effeminate than the average types of the Italy of the present day. In general, large remnants of health of soul and of vigor of constitution remain in the earlier line of emperors. These founders of imperial power have a more forceful quantity and quality of being than can be attributed to the average of the later line.

Curiously one notices, among the antique busts of the Capitoline Museum, in *Julius Cæsar*, dignity, magnanimity, and force; the strong cheek-bones, forehead, nose, and chin; the hollow cheeks; the two horizontal and two vertical wrinkles in the high and deep but not pugnaciously thick forehead: in *Augustus*, imperiousness and intensity, but a certain lack of strength in the lower face as compared with Julius Cæsar; the pronouncedly knit brows, the cold, imperious lips: in *Caligula*, a lawless will, a cruel arrogance, a whimsical, general disposition, a weak lower face; the mouth, eyes, and brows those of a person of inferior ability, accustomed to unlimited power: in *Claudius*, weakness of character, considerable force of intellect, the absence of predominant, cruel dispositions; the rather thin and flabby lower face, as of a man whom women might

rule: in *Messalina*, treachery, sensuality, and daring; the repulsively sensual thickening of the lower face, in spite of the general symmetry of the features and the fineness of fibre: in *Agrippina*, ability, perfidy, ambition, with a capacity for cruelty in the service of these predominant traits, and for sensuality which would know no check except from selfishness; the forehead, cheek-bones, and chin strong for a woman's face, and yet the whole countenance quite symmetrical and perhaps in youth outwardly, though never inwardly, beautiful: in *Nero*, at eighteen or twenty years of age, brutal coarseness, perfidy, and the puffy cheeks of physical indulgence; in *Nero*, later in his life, the withered lower face contrasting strangely with the dewlap in the chin and the thick neck; then the wrinkled forehead, the scornful and lawless lips, and yet the fibre of the man's brain and face not so bad as the form of both: in *Poppea Sabina*, outward beauty, sensuality, and ambition: in *Titus*, to pass by the coarse and cruel face of *Vespasian*, a certain elevation and worthiness both of mind and character, triumphing over some tendency to sensuality, but having very little natural cruelty to contend with: in *Trajan*, a look of justice and penetration, not met with since *Cæsar's* face; an omnipresent careworn expression, as if derived from honorable fulfilment of the duties of ruling; the length of the head from the ear to the space between the brows; the strong cheek and chin; the chief fault, the flatness of the upper brain at its front: in *Hadrian*, a very complete equipment of all the faculties, yet a certain tendency to secretly cherished

sensualities and cruelties, and a lack of elevation, except of the kind which arises from good taste : in *Marcus Aurelius*, as a youth, the best nature among the emperors, generosity, ingenuousness, and elevation of soul ; the symmetrical, open and sweet, but not soft face ; its extreme contrast with Caracalla, or Nero, or Faustina, whose repulsively thickened, sensual cheeks, neck, and chin are next to it ; in Marcus Aurelius, as a man, the same traits matured, with a careworn look and a little more suspicion, but with no treachery or sensuality mingled with them.

In the Hall of the Philosophers, a thousand thoughts fill the soul as one notices in *Socrates* the colossal forehead and satyr-like nose ; the powerful, shrewd, and wholly honest eyes, contrasted with the democratic carelessness of the beard and strong lower face ; a gigantic nature, symmetrical in every part, except an ugliest possible pug-nose, — uglier yet in the bust at Villa Albani where the power of the forehead is not quite as great as here : in *Demosthenes*, the six wrinkles in the brows ; the whole face and head exceedingly like that of the Vatican statue, but possibly expressing even greater intensity and concentration of intellect and will, and breathing ingenuousness everywhere through the terrible mental and moral penetration : in *Æschines*, comparative indolence, a capacity for dishonesty, and yet much symmetry and force of brain ; the unmistakable proofs that he was neither as earnest, nor as honest, nor as intense, nor as penetrating as Demosthenes, and yet that his intellectual ability was very considerably noteworthy : in *Euripides*, a Shakespearian height

of the coronal region of the brain, and an equally Shakespearian fulness and symmetry of the whole forehead. The *Homers* here, although undoubtedly not portraits, are interesting as creations of ancient art, for the faces resemble each other closely and have wonderful power and sensitiveness. In two of the busts, the height of the coronal region, especially of that above the ears, is so great as to look almost unnatural. Homer's head has three stories, and in one bust a dome above the third story. The delicate lines about the admirably formed brows and eyes betray an almost insane sensitiveness. This lofty, fine, elastic brain would be both telescopic and microscopic; it is hardly too much to say that it is worthy to be Homer's. Extreme fulness of natural equipment, conjoined with considerable tendency to severity, appears in *Scipio Africanus*. The bust called by the critics *Aristotle* unites masculine and feminine traits most wonderfully; the chin, cheek-bones jaws, brows, and nose are of staunch make, but the lips taken alone might be those of a sensitive woman. The great eye orbits, the vivacious expression, the slight elevation of the chin and opening of the lips make the general impression the observer receives from this bust more vivid than that from any other in the room, excepting Homer's.

Doubtless the Demosthenes of the Vatican is a portrait, not only of the countenance of the greatest orator of the world, but of his whole form and most characteristic action in speaking. It is at least safe to say that this is the confirmed opinion of sculptors who know how accurately ancient art, in its por-

trait statues, reproduced the whole man. The figure speaks incisively to the conscience. The face is precisely that which the orations of Demosthenes lead the student of them to expect. It is a concentration of earnestness, honesty, elevation of soul, force of will, and terribly penetrating, practical judgment. The great earnestness of the countenance strikes one from all points ; but perhaps best from a view slightly on the right of the front, where the sharp lines of thought and will and conscientiousness show themselves at every angle of forehead, eyebrows, cheeks, and lips. Not a suspicion of disingenuousness, or of the capacity for it, is in the face. This is its greatest power. Demosthenes, as represented by the Vatican statue, is not only transcendently able, earnest, and honest, but he is also unconscious that he is either. He gives to the observer the irresistible impression that in no possible circumstances would the judgment or the conscience of the orator be found asleep or at fault. He is genuine, and terribly determined that his hearers shall be. The face cannot be intelligently contemplated without an emotion of trust, giving the auditor a sense of relief and a readiness for submission, not to Demosthenes, for he does not assert himself at all, but to the truth, which he not only possesses, but by which he is plainly possessed. It is remarkable that the original position of the hands should have been a most quiescent one ; although even when folded, as they were, they must have been nervously alive, as are every thread and fibre of the form and face.

If the countenance of Demosthenes had earnest-

ness like a thunderbolt when his hands were folded, what may it not have had in his more animated gesture? The fulness and the reserve of power are both expressed in the posture the sculptor has chosen; and doubtless both were as often expressed together by his physical action as they are by the rhetorical structure of his speeches. This physical frame is as closely knit as the *Philippics*. The attitude and atmosphere are as thoroughly genuine at all points as those of the *Oration on the Crown*. The texture of this high, intense, stern, penetrating, supremely earnest and practical soul is precisely the same with the texture of that argument and appeal. It is worth noticing that the head is high and admirably symmetrical; the forehead full at the top and upper angles, as well as along the intense brows; the breadth of it not inferior, and yet not as remarkable as its height and its depth backward toward the ears. The lower forehead is very strong and of the type supposed to indicate practical good judgment; the nose of the best form; the cheeks nervous and slightly thinned by thought. The mouth, as far as the upper and shortly cut lower beard allows it to be seen, is severe and yet flexible and finely cut. There are two wrinkles crossing the forehead horizontally. Many busts of Demosthenes represent the forehead with vertical furrows. The eyes are deeply set, very serious, firm, and intense, but not large. Seen from a three quarters view, there are in the head admirable height and symmetry, and in the face the most noble earnestness, force, and incisiveness. The dress is not as simple as it ap-

pears at first sight. The toga, the only garment visible, has two small tassels at the tips of its cape, and the sandals are fastened with ties elaborately curved over the bridge of the foot. The right shoulder, and nearly the whole of the left, and quite the whole of the right arm, are bare. The toga falls to the region of the ankles. The form has, of course, no superfluous weight. The temperament is intensely nervous; but the contour of shoulders and muscles is gracefully masculine. The neck is neither large nor small, but its length corresponds well with the height of the head and of the whole stature. *Æschines* should be set in contrast with the Vatican *Demosthenes*. The rival orator, according to his marble portraits, had a large and symmetrical head, but lacked vastly both intensity and honesty. All the grand, manly, and penetrating traits are instinctively quickened in the sympathetic observer of the best marble representations of *Demosthenes*. They are relaxed in presence of the statues of *Æschines*.

In the Palace of the Conservator on the Capitoline stands a full length statue of *Julius Cæsar*, which, as many critics affirm, is the most complete and authentic representation of him that exists in the world. The brain is massively full in every direction except height. The length of the head from the ear to the centre of the eyebrows is very great. *Carlyle* calls this the surest sign of talent. The length from the ear to the upper corners of the forehead is great. Probably, however, the intellectual region of the brain is not as massive as that of *Socrates*; and yet the breadth of the forehead, as seen from the

front, is fully equal to that of the Stagyrte, whose bow, as Grote says, no man, since the hemlock did its work, has been found strong enough to bend. The head is far from being as high as that of Socrates or Plato, Homer, Euripides, or Shakespeare. The lips are finely cut and exceedingly sensitive, and the upper one almost poetic, although they are firm enough to be those of a statesman and general. The eyes are large, very penetrating, forceful, commanding, and by possibility imperious, though never cruel or malicious. They are full of dignity, and of a grave Roman kind of self-respect and magnanimity. Two long, horizontal furrows in the middle of the forehead, the somewhat hollowed cheeks, and the great thoughtfulness of the general look give an impression to the observer that Cæsar is careworn, but by no means that he is not at peace with himself and equal to any emergency. The jaws are strong, and yet the cheeks are neither coarse nor preponderatingly heavy as parts of the countenance. The neck is not thick and short, as in Nero; it is large, but also long. The shoulders and bust are massive without being too sturdy for the general symmetry of the form.

In a mild climate, hardly any better style of dress could be invented than the Capitoline Cæsar wears. Here are what might be called, in modern phraseology, sandals, skirt, a breast-plate, waistcoat, armlets, and a shawl, and nothing more in sight. The knees and lower arms, as is usual with the statues of Roman emperors, are as naked as the knees of Scotch Highlanders. There is a sash tied with two carefully

arranged bows about the waist. On the lower part of the tunic or breast-plate are two griffin-like forms sculptured in relief ; the lower edges of this garment are skirted by scollops containing each the head of a lion, or man, or ram, or goat. The sandals are attached to the ankles by a series of straps, themselves tied in knots, with flowing ends, about leather or cloth wraps for the ankles. The right hand holds a small globe or ball, and hangs by the side ; the left is raised and the fingers close slightly toward the palm. Cæsar, as represented in the famous bust of the Naples Museum, and in the full length statue of the Palace of the Conservator at Rome, fits his character in history, and the demands the imagination and judgment naturally make in advance as to what his countenance should be. I prefer the Naples bust to all others of Cæsar, as I do the full length statue at Rome to every other representation of him there ; but the two portraits are so exceedingly alike that if the one be admitted, as the Naples bust is, to be an authoritative likeness, the other must be. Seen from the right side of the statue, the resemblance is most striking, as the left side at Rome shows only the injured right side of the face. What breadth of forehead and fulness of the whole cerebral might in the Naples bust ! What fineness, force, and self-respect in the lips ; what magnanimity and determination and sagacity in the forehead, eyes, and general atmosphere of the countenance. It is to be noticed, however, that the bust does not possess the Socratic or Platonic or Shakespearian height of the coronal region ; yet in no

other respect is the organization lacking in fulness of equipment. The two vertical and the two horizontal furrows in the forehead, the hollowed cheeks, and the strong expression of care do not destroy the feeling the observer has that this man is substantially at peace with himself, and would be so in almost any possible emergency. It is not difficult to see that he could be general and statesman easily, and orator besides, but not a seer, or poet, or prophet.

Hadrian appears with more fine work in his likeness at Naples than at Rome, but, as at Rome, he looks capable of secret cruelties and sensualities, although wonderfully gifted with intellectual, artistic, and governing power. The organization is fine; the lips thin and sensitive, without a trace of weakness. The observer is convinced that Hadrian could easily have travelled on foot under sun and rain, as he did, from Britannia to Asia Minor, and thence to Spain, and at the same time that he might have been his own architect and the patron of all men of letters. But the face indicates, too, how Sabina, his wife, may have had reason for putting herself to death.

Pericles at Naples, in his helmet, resembles so exceedingly the Pericles of the Vatican, that one naturally trusts the portrait. Gracefulness, power, and self-respect flood the face; the equipment is that of statesman, poet, and philosopher, though hardly that of the general. Aspasia at Rome, in the Vatican, has a round, full head, somewhat flat in the coronal region, but in general enough like that of Pericles to have made her his companion by similarity of character, and not merely because she was a supplement

or complement of his nature. It would be hard indeed to say what Pericles needed as a complement of his natural endowments, he is so fully and symmetrically equipped. A certain Cæsarian sternness and capacity for success on the battle-field is almost all he lacks.

Euripides in the Naples bust moves me exceedingly by the prophetic height of the head, the depth of the forehead, and the terribly penetrating and serious eyes. He looks upon life from a vast height and with a mind that is at once telescopic and microscopic.

Herodotus and Thucydides in the busts at Naples the critics call very authoritative likenesses. Certainly their contrasts are of extreme interest, especially that of the genial thoughtfulness of the Herodotus with the severer, finer, and perhaps more thoughtful, but less cheerful face of Thucydides.

Antoninus Pius has almost a modern face, so thoroughly do better traits of character than the Roman emperors generally possessed shine out from it. The Naples bust, too, is better finished than any other I have met of this ruler, who made Roman history almost a blank from 138 to 161, by causing a suspension of war, violence, and crime.

Homer at Naples is represented as at all points agreeing with the type seen in the three Capitoline busts; but the combination of sensitiveness, aspiration, and devouring spiritual energy, on the one hand, with entire inward peace, on the other, is, perhaps, more successfully represented in the expression of the Naples bust than in that of either of the others.

I never weary of studying the sublime blind eyes, the wonderfully eloquent cheeks and lips, and the sad but nowhere weak furrows of forehead and face. He was a kind of Olympian himself, capable of acting Achilles' part, and that of Agamemnon too, as well as of singing them. The bold fulness of the lower part of the forehead, the great length from nose to ear, and height from ear over to ear are very noticeable. The head is as high as Walter Scott's, or that of Euripides, but much longer than either from the ears forward.

From Naples, while Vesuvius shows its fire and fills the soft air with strange thunders, you sail away with Richter's "Titan" open on your knee, past Capri, Sorrento, Sicily, and the hoarse, black swirls of Scylla and Charybdis. After rough tossing on the vexed Mediterranean near Cape Malea, your ship pauses in the harbor of the Piræus. Under the most marvellously brilliant midnight stars, you drive to Athens.

Advanced thought in Greece must be learned from the ghosts of the great souls of her antiquity, and they yet fill all her classic air, above land and sea.

In 1873 it was my fortune to spend a whole night alone on the Acropolis [see Appendix]; another night alone at the summit of Mount Parnassus; several days at Delphi; a day at Marathon; a day at Salamis; a night on the Plain of Troy. In 1881 I was once more at Athens, and everything modern there had changed for the better. It is pathetic to find Greece at last opening on the Acropolis and in the heart of Athens national museums for the

sacred remnants of her own ancient art, which have been pillaged hitherto for the enrichment of the museums of all Western Europe. Fifty years ago not a book could be bought at Athens. I hold in my hand at this moment the Year Book of the University of Athens, printed in classical Greek. The examination papers in it are as searching as any ever issued at Harvard or Yale, at Cambridge or Oxford. I counted in 1881 thirteen very tall factory chimneys in the Piræus, not one of which was there at my first visit, in 1873. I bought, at a single pause of my carriage in the main street of Athens, a collection of a dozen newspapers now issued in that metropolis, all in beautiful Greek. Hear [shaking one of the papers before the audience] the latest rustle of Demosthenes among the ages! In Athens the ancient days of Greece are yet your chief teachers. As you wander through the olive groves of the Cephissus and the Ilissus, and hear the Ægean wind among the columns of the Temple of Jupiter, and stand again on the Bema, Mars Hill, and the Acropolis, you renew a trance of historic sympathy from which you hope never to wake.

Two letters, actually written the one face to face with the precipices of Delphi and the other at the summit of Mt. Parnassus, recall a few of the high experiences of your interviews with Greek history and its Ruler and with Greek Nature and its Author.

DELPHI, *July 11.*

So powerful is the impression which this Gorge of Delphi and Mt. Parnassus towering above it 8,000

feet have made upon me, that I do not doubt that the wild beasts that once wandered here were, in a certain sense, religious. No wonder, therefore, that this stern and sublime scenery should have caused the Greeks to locate here the most revered of all their oracles. As I write on my knee in the crisp, clear, Greek morning air, I look into that magnificent amphitheatre at the southern foot of Parnassus, where, terrace above terrace, Delphi stood at the edge of precipices almost perpendicular and nearly 2,000 feet high. The Castalian spring sends out its crystalline, murmurous brook from the roots of the giddy mountain walls. In 1870 an earthquake destroyed a large part of the village, of which the remnants are yet here, and choked up the reservoir cut in the rock at the spring. I have drunk of the water at the most celebrated point at the eastern side of the ancient Delphi, where the undecaying fountain leaps out from the reddish gray cliffs. I have spent many hours among the few and pathetic ruins left of the temple of the Oracle. But the grandeur of the scenery continues to make upon me to the last an impression more distinctly religious than I ever received from mountains or chasms before. The historical atmosphere accounts for this in part. Probably, also, the indescribable magnificence of the thunder and lightning and lashing showers which were moving over Parnassus and adjacent heights as I approached Delphi, yesterday, through the fat olive orchards of the Crisean plain, account for another portion of the peculiar influence which Delphi exerts upon me.

The valleys are tropically luxuriant in their growths of olives wherever living streams or irrigation can reach the thirsty soil; but the mountain slopes are desolate. Only an exceedingly stunted shrubbery, not tall enough to be called copse, covers their gray sides. A very uneven sprinkling of green appears on their sharply outlined spikes and bosses. Nevertheless, the Gorge of the Pleistus is filled with rich vineyards. The olives creep more than half way up the long slope of the thirty-seven terraces I can count between the bottom of the valley and the Castalian spring.

The air is alive with the murmur of bees. They feed here, as at Mount Hymettus, on the odorous wild thyme. The modern village overflows with the sound of gushing rills. Yonder stretches the green Crissean plain full of vineyards and olives down to the very shore of the far flashing Corinthian Gulf. Apollo's Shrine is hushed forever; but the Delphi precipices, the heights of Parnassus, and the Castalian spring are a perpetual oracle.

SUMMIT OF PARNASSUS, *July 13.*

God's name, if any man who is sufficiently thoughtful dares speak it, seems to be the only word that should be uttered on such mountain tops as this of Parnassus.

I came here at 5.15 yesterday afternoon, and am writing now at 5.15 on the following morning, having passed the whole night alone on this summit, 8,066 feet above the sea.

If the cramped handwriting shows that I am a

little chilled, it proves, nevertheless, that I am not shivering; and the ink is certainly not below the freezing point. My thermometer has fallen at no time below 38°. With the aid of a thick blanket and my Scotch plaid, and two woollen undergarments, I have passed a not greatly uncomfortable night here without fire. I was told by excellent guides that the ascent of Parnassus at this season was dangerous on account of the snows and the cold. In order to travel well, one must have a soldier's capacity of physical endurance. If I had brought with me two more blankets, I could have slept here six hours, unless disturbed by robbers and brigands. As things were, I slept very soundly about two hours. But I did not come to this height to sleep, and needed no effort to keep myself awake.

No single outlook in Greece commands a view over the whole of the famous historical territory; but this summit of Parnassus is celebrated for overlooking more points of interest than any other height in Greece or perhaps in the world.

From here Mount Olympus bounds the view northward. The great ranges near Corinth and in the Peloponnesus close the prospect southward. On the east the Ægean and on the west the Ionian Sea is visible. Imagine what the details must be in an outline so magnificent.

The rugged height behind the pass of Thermopylæ lies yonder under the fresh morning light. I look on Ossa, Pelion, and Olympus at a distance, and with a glass the Vale of Tempe itself can be made out. Bœotia, Argolis, Elis, and Arcadia are

in view. All the northern and middle tracts of Greece are spread forth as a map. The mountains that divided the territories and induced so much political division in Greece roll northward, and north-eastward, and westward, and, beyond the Gulf of Corinth, southward, like waves of the sea. The eye, from this flinty, and once volcanic summit where the Nine Muses dwelt, sweeps above every other height except one in the chain of Olympus. I have seen sunset, moonrise, and sunrise here. All through the night, except an hour or two, bells tinkled liquidly from the high mountain folds. At midnight the constellation of the Cross hung exactly above me. Eagles float here now in the majesty of the morning.

APPENDIX,
WITH
ADDITIONAL LECTURES.

APPENDIX I.

THE DECLINE OF RATIONALISM IN THE GERMAN UNIVERSITIES.¹

I. GOD IN GERMAN HISTORY.

STRAUSS is in his grave ; Baur's doubts are solved in the unseen ; Schleiermacher and Neander are asleep on the hill slope south of Berlin ; Fichte and Hegel lie at rest beneath the lindens in a cemetery in the same city ; Kant has a peaceful tomb at Königsberg ; Richter, at Baireuth, among his native Fichtelgebirge ; De Wette, at Basle, at the edge of the Alps ; Goethe, Schiller, and Herder, no disquiet wakes at Weimar ; Tholuck has closed, and Julius Müller, laden with more than three-score years and ten, draws near the end of his victorious journey ; Austria has been humbled, Sedan fought, German unity accomplished.

The formation of the new German Empire marks broadly the close of a great period in German history, extending from Frederick the Great to Bismarck, from Voltaire to Strauss, from the French Revolution to Sedan.

¹ A lecture delivered before the Students of Andover Theological Seminary and of the Yale Divinity School, and repeated in Boston, Concord, and several churches of Eastern Massachusetts.

Curiously enough, the measurable political peace, coming after terrific struggle to the whole nation, coincides with the measurable intellectual peace coming after terrific struggle to the most cultivated classes. There have been deluges of unrest; but conclusions are being reached as to political unity, and also as to Christianity. The greatest questions in the mental and in the political life of Germany are approaching repose in the same period, and that our own.

It is an exceedingly suggestive sign of the times that, in proportion to population, Great Britain has but one student in a course of higher university education where Germany has five.¹ In this age it is from Germany that decisions in momentous intellectual questions proceed. Every day the world grows more international. There are now no foreign lands. It has been said that in England one is never quite outside of London, because the city inflames the whole island. So, in science, one is never quite outside of the German universities, for they inflame the whole field of culture.

Suppose that there were to be lifted from the waste of some ocean a new continent, peopled by a class of men equal to the Greeks in intellectual power, and their superior in candor and learning. Let moral culture abound in the family life of the nation, but let church life be weak; let political causes choke the church; let wars storm over the territory; let

¹ Arnold, Professor Matthew, *Higher Schools and Universities in Germany*, pp. 148, 149. London. 1874. Compare Hart, *German Universities*, p. 322. 1875.

public discussion be free only in philosophy, theology, and art ; let system after system of metaphysical speculation arise, reign briefly, and be superseded ; let the universities of the nation lead the world in modern science ; let Christianity, probed to the innermost by restless spirits, with no outlet in politics for their activity, take its chances among this people ; let it go through many a struggle ; let it ask no assistance, and fight ever at a disadvantage ; let it be partially triumphed over in appearance ; let it rally ; let it prevail ; let it come forth crowned : we should say, if God were to lift such a continent, with such a history, from the Atlantic, that He had spoken to men. But such a people, with such a history, He has lifted, in the last century, in Germany, from the deeps of time.

II. THE MISCHIEF OF FRAGMENTARINESS.

What have been the causes of the power of rationalism in Germany in the last hundred years ?

What are the proofs of the decline of rationalism in the German universities ?

Who are the dead, the wounded, and the living, after the battle of a century ?

Chief among the difficulties with which faith in Germany has contended has been one-sidedness in the presentations of Christianity. Science without earnestness, or earnestness without science — these were the two halves of German theological thought a century ago. Most mischievous, almost fatal, was the fragmentariness of a cold, speculative orthodoxy, on the one side, and of a warm, unspeculative

pietism, on the other.¹ If Spener and Wolff could have been rolled into one man; if Francke and Semler could have lived in one head, perhaps English deism and Voltaire and his skeptical crew at Frederick's court had never stung, or, if they had stung, had never fly-blown, the fair, white, honest breast of Germany to fevers and eruptions.

Average German natures are not as well balanced as the English, although broader and more subtile intellectually, and deeper in nearly every phase of the inner life, except only those royal English traits, self-esteem and the love of power.

There are three types of German heads: that of Goethe, or the regular; that of Schiller, or the irregular; that of Bismarck, or the thick, high, and round. A head of the Schiller type in theology knows little of the pietistic side; a head of the Goethe type, little of the philosophic; only a head of the Bismarck type combines the two. The regular type is often, like Goethe, powerful in the intuitive and imaginative, and not so in the distinctively philosophical faculties.² The irregular type may have great imaginative and philosophical, but lacks intuitive, power. A German philosopher with the irregular head of a Schiller³ is

¹ Compare Farrar's *Critical History of Free Thought*, Lecture vi.; Hagenbach's *German Rationalism; its Rise, Progress, and Decline*. vii.-xi. T. & T. Clark. 1865.

² "Ein Kerl, der speculirt,
Ist wie ein Vieh, auf dürrer Heide
Von einem bösen Geist herumgeführt,
Und rings umher ist grüne Weide." — *Goethe*.

³ "His form . . . at no time could boast of faultless symmetry. He was tall and strongly bowed, but unmuscular and lean. . . . His face was pale, the cheeks and temples rather hollow, the chin somewhat deep and slightly projecting, the nose irregularly aquiline." — Carlyle, *Collected Works, Life of Schiller*, p. 223.

sure to be one-sided, and yet may be as endlessly acute and imaginatively brilliant as he is unbalanced. Heads of the Bismarck type naturally devote themselves to statesmanship or to positive science; and it will be found that a line of such brains, like Von Moltke in war, Trendelenburg, Nitzsch, Dorner, Tholuck, and Julius Müller in theology, Kiepert in geography, Lepsius in archæology, and Curtius in history, have exhibited the balanced thought of the nation.

No one has read German history, if he has not illustrated the narrative by the portraits of the leaders of thought.¹ Eccentric systems, in Germany as elsewhere, have come from small or irregular brains, as in the cases of Strauss, Schenkel, and Schopenhauer.

III. DISUSE OF THE DISTINCTION BETWEEN CONVERTED AND UNCONVERTED.

Fruitful, exceedingly, among the causes of the power of rationalism in Germany, has been the ab-

¹ "In all my poor historical investigations, it has been, and always is, one of the most primary wants to procure a bodily likeness of the personage inquired after; a good *portrait*, if such exists; failing that, even an indifferent, if sincere one. . . Every student and reader of history who studies earnestly to conceive for himself what manner of fact and *man* this or the other vague historical name can have been, will, as the first and directest indication of all, search eagerly for a portrait; for all the reasonable portraits there are; and never rest till he have made out, if possible, what the man's natural face was like. Often I have found a portrait superior in real instruction to half a dozen written biographies, as biographies are written; or rather, let me say, I have found that the portrait was as a small lighted candle by which the biographies could for the first time be read, and some human interpretation be made of them." — Carlyle, *Collected Works*, vol. xi. pp. 241, 242.

sence, not from its religious doctrines, but from its church forms, of that distinction between the converted and the unconverted so familiar in Scotland, England, and the United States.

“I regret nothing so much,” said Professor Tholuck to me once, with the emphasis of tears in his deep, spiritual eyes, “as that the line of demarcation between the church and the world, which Jonathan Edwards and Whitefield drew so deeply on the mind of New England, is almost unknown, not to the theological doctrines, but to the ecclesiastical forms of Germany. With us confirmation is compulsory. Children of unbelieving, as well as of believing, families must at an early age be baptized, and profess faith in Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. Without a certificate of confirmation in some church, employment cannot be legally obtained.¹ After confirmation, the religious standing is assumed to be Christian; after that, we are all church members. Thus it happens that in our state churches the converted and the unconverted are mixed pell-mell together.”

Is Bismarck a Christian? I asked once of an accomplished German teacher. “Why not? Is he a Jew? Is he a Mahometan?” was the reply. To ask in Germany if a man is a Christian, in the English, Scotch, or American sense of that question, you must use expletives: Is the man a real, a shining, an exemplary Christian? for the unexplained word,

¹ In a few of the cities of North Germany infamous licenses were granted to women for an infamous employment, but only after the applicants for licenses had exhibited to the licensing officer their certificates of confirmation!

which in our colloquial use means that a man is converted, in Germany means only that he has been confirmed.

Pastoral care of the mass of the population is, of course, very inefficient under this vastly maladroit organization of the German state church; public and private devotional meetings languish; church discipline is often no more than a name.¹

"We have no Sabbath-schools in Heidelberg," said a distinguished and Christian professor of the Heidelberg University to me once; "and, with exceptions not worth mentioning, there are none in Germany.² We do not need them; for the instruction you give in America in Sabbath-schools, we give in the secular schools. In our common week-day school-instruction an hour is specially set apart for teaching the children the biblical histories and the catechism.³

¹ Compare Schaff, Professor Philip, *Germany, its Universities, Theology, and Religion*, chap. xi. See, also, his instructive contrasts between German and American church life, in *Der Bürgerkrieg und das christliche Leben in Nord Amerika*. Berlin. 1866.

² "The rightly so-called *American* Sunday-schools, . . . since Mr. Woodruff visited us in 1863, have augmented to about one thousand, and the number of children therein instructed by more than four thousand young men and women to about eighty thousand." — Krummacher, Rev. Hermann, *Christian Life in Germany. Report of Evangelical Alliance*, p. 82. New York. 1873.

³ I copy from my notes written at Heidelberg some account of a favorable specimen of the religious teaching in German schools. "Friday, Nov. 22. This morning, from eight to nine, I witnessed the religious instruction which is given to one of the upper classes in the Lyceum of Heidelberg. Twenty-six boys of about fourteen years of age were: 1. Questioned on the second chapter of Genesis; 2. Furnished by their teacher with further explanations of the history; 3. Made to take down in writing from dictation certain heads sum-

“But what you explain as a solemn public profession of faith on entrance into membership with a church does not exist in Germany. The distinction which you say prevails in New England, and America generally, between persons who have made such a profession of faith and of a renewed character and those who have not, — the former being called church-members, and distinctively Christians, while the latter are not, — is a distinction not in use with us. We are all confirmed in youth, and after confirmation are all members of the church, and all known as Christians.

“What you describe as a gathering among church-members for devotional purposes, or a prayer-meeting, does not exist with us, except among the very severely orthodox. Here in Heidelberg, among the higher orthodox, there are small meetings called conventicles, held from house to house, in private rooms, but not in the church. Our theological students do not have prayer-meetings.

marizing the instruction. Strauss himself could hardly have tripped up the explanations given by the teacher, whom I took for a young minister. The history was called ‘a symbolical representation of the ideal and actual state of man ; of the circumstances arising in the human dispositions under temptation ; of the action of conscience before, during, and after sin.’ The conversation of the woman with the serpent illustrated, first, doubt as to the authority of the moral law ; secondly, the force of passion in presence of its objects ; lastly, remorse and shame. Symbolical representation of the action of conscience was what the history was explained to be. On the whole, I was pleased with the exercise ; although the substitution of such instruction for Sabbath-schools leaves the churches very inert. There is in the Lyceum, this teacher told me, a Catholic, and also a Jewish religious exercise. The Protestant, such as I saw, occupies two hours a week. ‘Wir haben keine Sonntag Schulen,’ said this teacher, when I spoke of schools of that kind in America.”

“What you explain as pastoral visitation is not practised with us, unless in a few country churches. You will find something in books as to our theory of pastoral care ; but it is by no means the general custom of our preachers to visit their people for the purpose of conversation on personal religion. Were a pastor to open conversation on the personal religion of a man, in the man’s house, the reply would probably be : ‘There is the door ; you can go out, or I must.’

“If a student in the University were to lead a disorderly life here at Heidelberg, and yet were a member of Peter’s Kirche, where the most of the professors worship, the church, as such, would do nothing to call him to account. You ask what the pastor would do in such a case : he preaches on Sunday, and nothing farther is within the limits to which he is expected to confine himself.¹ Family life in Germany would do what it could to bring to a sense of his duty any immoral person ; but the church preaches, and does not visit or exercise discipline in such cases as you say often result in the exclusion of a person from church membership in New England. In very extreme cases, indeed, the University expels privately a disorderly student.”

At Halle, at Berlin, at Leipzig, at Dresden, at Göttingen, and at Heidelberg, I looked in vain for Sabbath-schools and prayer-meetings.

Halle has led the religious life of Germany for a hundred and fifty years ; and yet, said Professor

¹ Compare Tholuck, *Das academische Leben des 17^{ten} Jahrhunderts*.

Tholuck to me : "There are no devotional meetings in our churches worth attending. It may be said that, according to the Scottish and New England idea, the state churches of Germany have no prayer-meetings. Once a week, in the churches of Halle, there is a biblical exercise. The pastor always leads; and the only remarks that are made, he makes. Sometimes, in this exercise, a Christian member of the audience offers a prayer; but this is all. Our theological students may know more Hebrew, Greek, and philosophy than yours; but most unfortunately, as they have had no training to such gatherings in the state churches, they do not come together in devotional meetings as yours do. *Bene orasse, est bene studuisse*, you understand better than we. I have been subjected to no distress in my lecture-room greater than that caused by the fact that our churches leave unsupplied, in the minds of the students, that devotional seriousness and elevation which are the only fit preparation for scientific study of religious truth. I beseech you not to judge of the condition of religion in Germany by the condition of our state churches."¹

¹ "Die veränderte Ansicht vom Verhältnisse der Kirche zum Staat hatte eine Veränderung der Stellung des Geistlichen zur Folge. Je mehr die Thomasiussche Ansicht vom Geistlichen als Staatsdiener sich verbreitet, desto mehr schwindet der religiöse Nimbus, mit welchem der geistliche Stand bisher umkleidet gewesen : er tritt in der Reihe die Staatsdiener." — Tholuck, *Geschichte des Rationalismus, Erste Abtheilung*, p. 167. "In the year 1808 all consistories, both upper and lower, were swept away; and until some considerable time after our war of deliverance, our evangelical church existed without even the breath of one single church institution or authority. The government transacted all the former business of the consistories. . . . I

Most assuredly must an American maintain, however, that the health of religion in a nation depends on a *mens sana in corpore sano* ; the universities are the mind, but the church training of the people is the body ; and when the latter, as in Germany, is seamed through and through with weakness and disease, how can the former remain sound ? The eye for religion is not cultivated by the training which in Germany usually precedes theological study. The moral atmosphere of the German universities exhales from broad marshes of confessedly stagnant state church life ; and it is in the condition of the vapors which these neglected, steaming, batrachian flats cast up, that the wonders some German university telescopes have seen in the sky find an important explanation. Face to face with the nearly omnipresent lack of what New England and Scotland call spiritual cultivation, I, for one, did not, when in Germany, and meditating long on the banks of the Rhine, the Saale, the Neckar, the Ilm, the Spree, the Elbe, and the Danube, feel impressed with a tenth part of the intellectual respect for German skepticism which it is not uncommon to find in the minds of untravelled men in America.

A noble, but religiously neglected people, naturally honest and earnest, the German masses, as in the days of Tacitus, made a kind of religion of family life. Hegel was proud of the fact that *Gemüthlich-* see no help for German Christendom, save in the formation of churches. Yes, churches ! That is my watchword, — my loud, crying appeal to the Church of Germany, which needs churches. They are the sole condition of life for the church." — *King Frederick William IV. Two Treatises. 1845.*

keit, the name for what he considered the most characteristic trait of the Germans, is a word without any equivalent in French or English;¹ kindness of nature, tenderness, *soulfulness* are, perhaps, the best English expressions for it; and this quality, conjoined with the renowned German sincerity, gives the nation a capacity for religious culture excelled by that of no other on the globe, and fit to make it the mission of Germany, as Hegel thought it was, to bear through the ages the Christian principle. But the capacity is as yet unoccupied.

Studying often and searchingly the faces of the common people in the market places of Europe, I used to think that to produce a salutary effect by speaking to them on religion, I should need a day with the Germans, and succeed on the merits of the case; an age with the English of the lower orders, and succeed only when my cause had become respectable among the upper classes; a millennium with the French, and succeed then only to expect a revolution of opinion every three days.

IV. CONTAGION FROM FRANCE.

Moral, intellectual, and social contagion from France must be mentioned with painful emphasis among the causes of the power of rationalism in Germany.

Voltaire and Frederick the Great at Sans Souci: you know the story made so brilliant by Carlyle.²

¹ Hegel, *Philosophy of History*, part ix. sect. 1, chap. 1.

² "There is nothing in imaginative literature superior in its own way to the Episode of Voltaire in the *Fritziad*. It is delicious in hu-

From the time of Louis XIV. to that of Napoleon, the numberless petty courts of Germany took their ideas of morality and taste from Paris and Versailles almost as slavishly as Frederick the Great took his literary fashions from Voltaire. Think, too, of the humiliations of Germany under Napoleon, when his personal rule extended from the Tiber to the Elbe, and when Leipzig and Berlin had passed into kingdoms dependent on France. Until Lessing's day, French taste ruled German literature; there was no German literature. Even Goethe thought his country unwise in resisting Napoleon; and the war of liberation, by the colossal blows of Leipzig and Waterloo, only fractured a yoke which it is to be hoped that Sedan has broken completely in twain.

In Halle, in 1872, I found in a large circulating library, in the best bookstore of the city, patronized by respectable people, and within a bow-shot of the University, a complete set of eighteen or twenty volumes of the works of an infamous French writer, whose productions, if exposed for sale in London, Edinburgh, or Boston, would be seized by the police, or would ruin the reputation of vendor and purchaser, — a great exception, no doubt, in Halle,¹ — but the books were worn black by use.

mor, masterly in minute characterization. . . . It is in such things that Mr. Carlyle is beyond all rivalry, and that we must go back to Shakespeare for a comparison." — Lowell, Professor James Russell, *My Study Windows, Carlyle*, p. 135.

¹ The wise and patriotic Frederick Perthes wrote, in 1826: "When I was a child enlightenment occupied the place of religion, and freemasonry that of the church. Men of culture knew the Bible only by hearsay. . . . During the first ten years of my establishment at Hamburg, I sold not a single Bible except to a few bookbinders in the

I had not been in Paris a week before I was permanently cured of all intellectual respect for French skepticism. Tacitus says the ancient Germans whipped the adulteress through the streets and buried the adulterer alive in the mud.¹ But Julius Caesar speaks of polygamous practices among the Gauls, and describes them as showy, cruel, and volatile.² Thomas Carlyle calls Paris the city of all the devils.³ "Poor Paris," I heard him say once in his study at Chelsea, "they have done nothing there but lie for eight hundred years." Bismarck, speaking with facetious seriousness, says, that if you take from the average native Parisian — not the Frenchman, who is a different character — his tailor, the hair-dresser, and the cook, what is left is Red Indian. These men ought to know France; but if their representations

neighboring country towns; and I remember very well a good sort of man who came into my shop for a Bible, and took great pains to assure me that it was for a person about to be confirmed, fearing, evidently, lest I should suppose it was for himself. . . . Since the French Revolution, the rod of divine chastisement has not been wielded in vain on our lacerated country. The sensual, godless frivolity of the last century wanders about only as a dusky, obsolete ghost." — Perthes, Frederick, *Memoirs*, vol. ii. pp. 243, 246.

¹ "Inesse quin etiam sanctum aliquid et providum putant; nec aut consilia carum aspernantur aut responsa negligunt. . . . Quamquam severa illic matrimonia, nec ullam morum partem magis laudaveris. Nam prope soli barbarorum singulis uxoribus contenti sunt. . . . Paucissima in tam numerosa gente adulteria; quorum pœna præsens, et maritis permissa: accisis crinibus, nudatam, coram propinquis expellit domo maritus ac per omnem vicum verberare agit. Publicatæ enim pudicitiae nulla venia. Non forma, non ætate, non opibus maritum invenerit." — Tacitus, *Germaniæ* 8, 18, 19. Cf. Cæsar, *De Bello Gallico*, vi. 21.

² Cæsar, *De Bello Gallico*, iii. 19; vi. 16–19.

³ Carlyle, *The French Revolution*, *passim*.

fit this century less well than the last, in the city which is the play-ground and sewer of Europe, it is yet certain that average Paris is politically and morally the city of little boys. For ethical and ethnological reasons, it is of no consequence what is thought of theology by Paris. There are several chambers lacking in the typical Parisian brain. In Germany can be found everything good but elegance; in France, nothing good but elegance. Eternity is not visible from Paris.

V. SUFFERING OF GERMANY IN EUROPEAN WARS.

Demoralization of the people by protracted and almost incessant European wars deserves a high rank among the causes of the power of rationalism in Germany, even in the last century.

“Scratch a Russian,” said Napoleon, “and you will find beneath the surface a Tartar.” Scratch peasant-life in Central Europe once, and you find the wars of the first Napoleon; twice, and you find the Thirty Years’ War; thrice, and you find the Middle Ages.

After the sack of Magdeburg, Tilly cast six thousand bodies of the citizens into the Elbe, and the river was choked by the mass. Soldiers in the Thirty Years’ War were largely foreigners and mercenaries, and paid, from necessity and on principle, in beauty and booty. Cossacks, Walloons, Croats, Italians, Irishmen, and Turks fought with Scots, Dutchmen, Danes, Swedes, Laplanders, and Finns. Germany for a generation was a howling hunting-ground for the rabble of all nations. One hundred years, to a day,

after the Augsburg Confession was promulgated, that is on June 24, 1630, John Winthrop was sailing into Boston Harbor, and Gustavus Adolphus was landing fifteen thousand men in Pomerania. For a hundred years after that date, the plundering bands of Wallenstein did not disappear. From fear of starvation, a Swedish general, in the second half of the war, refused to lead an army through the once fat plains of the Oder and the Elbe, from the Baltic to the Saxon Switzerland. When Louis XIV. stole Strasburg, in 1681, the dead German Empire was too feeble to resent the robbery. The Turks, at the instigation of the French king, swarmed far up the Danube, and laid down forty-eight thousand lives in a nearly successful siege of Vienna. The Thirty Years' War gave to death half of the population of Germany. It left her divided into more than three hundred petty states, each with the right to declare war and make peace; and into fourteen hundred yet pettier political fragments, each with the same right, and each depending upon a peeled peasantry for the means of feeding the ostentation and leprosy of courts filled with nobles often unable to read or write, and combining with soundly orthodox belief incredible coarseness, dulness, and savagery. Shivering the once orderly and majestic German constellation into asteroids, it left in existence no central sun. It allowed merely asteroid princes to acquire such power that for two centuries national unity was impracticable. It subjected all Germany to the inroads of French armies. It brought into fashion French manners. Switzerland and the Netherlands, at one time a part

of the empire, were given up at the Peace of Westphalia. In Switzerland Germany lost its best fortress, and in the Netherlands its best port; in the former, its surest defence against attack by the Romance nations; in the latter, its surest means of influence on the sea and in remote regions of the world. Great before, for two centuries after the close of the Thirty Years' War, Germany founded no colony on any shore and showed no flag on any ocean.¹

When the French, in 1689, blew up the towers of Heidelberg; swung a firebrand up and down both shores of the Rhine; filled the Palatinate with the hungry, the naked, and the frozen; scattered to the winds, at Spires, the splintered coffins and violated dust of the German emperors; and at Treves, Jülich, and Cologne compelled the peasants to plough down their standing corn, Louis XIVth's plan was to protect himself from Germany by making the Palatinate, and the middle region of the Rhine, a desert.

With Frederick the Great came war on war; with Napoleon, war on war. Cæsar's robe was not so full of dagger-rents as is German soil of battle-fields. In German-speaking lands lie Magdeburg, Lützen, Nordlingen, Prague, Rossbach, Hohenlinden, Austerlitz, Eylau, Aspern, Erlingen, Wagram, Jena, Leipzig, Waterloo, Langensalza, Sadowa, and Königgrätz, —

“Poor dumb mouths, . . .

Mark how the blood of Cæsar followed them.”

¹ Compare Bancroft, *History of the United States*, vol. x. p. 83; Menzel, Wolfgang, *Geschichte der Deutschen*, 5 Aufl. 1856 (Eng. trans. in Bohn's Library); Menzel, Karl Adolf, *Neuere Geschichte der Deutschen*, 2 Aufl., 6 Bde. 1856.

VI. POLICE CHRISTIANITY AS THE ALLY OF ABSOLUTISM.

Support given by state churches to absolutism in politics, and the consequent alienation of the masses of the population and of the more progressive of the educated class, ought to be named early in any enumeration of the causes of rationalism in Germany.

Too often in Europe the cause of infidelity is that the Bible has been forced down the throats of the people with a bayonet, or food taken from starving lips by aristocracies whose throttling and thievish action a state church has blessed. "I daily thank God," said Chevalier Bunsen, on his dying bed, "that I have lived to see Italy free. Now twenty-six millions will be able to believe that God governs the world."¹ Red republicanism as yet makes white republicanism impossible in Europe. Still in the trance of perpetuated horror of the French Revolution, church and state in Germany in 1848 united in resisting the demands of the people for political reforms. Until very lately, any too marked agitation for German unity itself has been choked with a strong hand, and the churches applauded the act. Christlieb says, "that for two centuries the law of German history has been that infidelity grows strong under oppressive, and weak under just, civil regulations."²

¹ *Bunsen, Memoirs of*, vol. ii. p. 562.

² "Nothing like the old bureaucratic system to produce and foster rationalism. . . . Since the reawakening of political life, the popular favor towards materialistic theories seems to have sensibly dimin-

Evil exceedingly is that day in a nation when religious and political interests flow in opposite directions; these opposing currents make the whirlpool that impales faith on the tusks of the sea. The German population of the ruder sort look on the preacher as merely a governmental agent, and scoff at his teaching as "Police Christianity." It must never be forgotten that the Romish is in Germany one of the state churches, and by compact organization and religious loyalty that the subtle creed that the church governs the world, the pope the church, and the Jesuits the pope, has almost power enough to disintegrate the new empire. As Bismarck and Gladstone¹ are at this moment proclaiming, patriotism and Jesuit ultramontaniam, now as of old, mingle no better than water and fire.

VII. LIMITATIONS AND STIMULATIONS OF THE UNIVERSITIES.

Limitation of free discussion, in the universities and elsewhere, to philosophy, theology, and topics not connected with the civil life of the nation, has a prominent place among the inciting causes of German rationalism.

Political discussion is not free inside or outside of the universities in Prussia. Politics absorb an exceedingly small portion of the talent of educated men. Compared with the swirling, devouring whirlpool of political discussion in England or America, German

ished." — Christlieb, Professor Theodore, of the University of Bonn, *Modern Doubt and Christian Belief*, p. 18 (Eng. trans.). 1874.

¹ Gladstone, Hon. W. E., Pamphlets on *The Vatican Decrees*, and *Vaticanism*. 1875.

civil life is an unruffled sea.¹ Great waves, unknown here, roll there in science, philosophy, and theology. Look into the bookstores at the Leipzig fairs, or into the university lecture lists to get reports of this commotion among the educated class, and not into the newspapers. Under a vigorously paternal government, newspapers have little power, and so attract little talent. Accordingly there are no newspapers in Germany ; at least, none at all comparable for ability or influence with the leading sheets of the English or American press. The universities in Germany absorb that huge amount of intellectual activity which America and England diffuse through an awakened and multitudinously throbbing public life. General enthusiasm in politics does not exist in Prussia, still less in the smaller states of the empire.

It is only upon scientific, philosophical, and literary topics that discussion in the universities is fully free. In the absence of great political and social themes, the stream of intellectual activity, which never runs shallow in Germany, shut off from one of its natural channels, turns its whole force upon philosophy, science, and theology. If the result has in many respects been excellent, in many also it has been unfortunate ; for the very current that has

¹ "A disinterested love of truth can hardly coexist with a strong political spirit. In all countries where the habits of thought have been mainly formed by political life, we may discover a disposition to make expediency the test of truth. . . . It is probable that the capacity of pursuing abstract truth for its own sake, which has given German thinkers so great an ascendancy in Europe, is in no slight degree to be attributed to the political languor of their nation."—Lecky, *Rationalism in Europe*, vol. ii. p. 145.

made the channel deep has borne with it a drift-wood of utterly secular, turbulent, and intriguing spirits, whose natural outlet would have been politics, and who had no calling, except from necessity, to discuss any other theme.

The brilliancy of a German professor's success depends much on the size of his audience; and he is under no inconsiderable temptation to secure hearers by novelty of doctrine.

The professor is chosen for his merit as a specialist; he attracts hearers by his fame as a specialist; his rank is estimated according to the extent of the additions he has made to knowledge as a specialist; his ambition for scholarly renown leads him to seek perpetually to find or invent some new thing as a specialist.

Competition for hearers is intensely keen at times under the operation of the peculiar system of the university lectures, supported largely by the fees paid by students who voluntarily subscribe to hear certain courses.

There is rivalry between the professors of the three different orders — regular, extraordinary, and candidate. The *Privat Docent* of a German university is really a candidate professor, and one of his offices is to keep the regular professors strenuously wakeful by competition.

This rivalry is intensified by the custom in Germany of assembling in circles of instructors at the universities always a majority of the brilliant men of learning of the whole country. In England one may count among those in the last fifty years distinguished

for learning, at least a score who had no connection with universities ; but in Germany one can find in that period hardly any such. Macaulay, Carlyle, Mill, Grote, like our own Prescott and Irving, never were professors in a college. But in Germany if any learned person has anything to say, he is usually provided by the government with a chance to say it in lectures to students at some university centre.

Undoubtedly the German universities, on all topics within their range, have at present more power than the German nobility to set the fashions of public thought.

No one can enter the civil service or a learned profession in Germany, except through the gate of a state examination, at the close of a university course of study. The secret of the national power of the German universities is in this close connection with the state. "The university," says Bismarck, "exists for imperial purposes." The American and the English universities do not rest on state preparatory schools, or end in the state service. The German university rests on the state gymnasiums, and ends in the civil service and learned professions.¹

America governs by majorities, England by an aristocracy, Germany by universities.

All life in Prussia has an organization so utterly different from that in New England, that although in Edinburgh, Glasgow, Oxford, or London, an

¹ "The French university has no liberty, and the English universities have no science ; the German universities have both." — Arnold, Professor Matthew, *Higher Schools and Universities in Germany*, p. 166. London. 1874. Compare, also, Hart, *German Universities*. New York. 1875.

American feels himself yet hardly out of America, he will not have that feeling in Germany, not even in the highest places of learning. Modern German society is a spiritual landscape, with stagnant flats and reedy marshes extensive as those of the Baltic provinces themselves; but also with wide tracts thrown up, like South Germany, into Thuringian hills and Saxon Switzerlands, or even into Alpine peaks, on which day strikes first and lingers longest. Examined more closely, however, the novelties which surprise an American are seen to be arranged in a most definite order. Prussian society consists of these seven parts: the king, the civil service, the army, the universities, the nobility, the tradesmen, the peasants. I assign the universities a rank as a class, and that rank next higher than the nobility; for such is now, according to the best German critics, their relative position.¹ Acting in the eye of the nation, and on this elevated stage of public respect, German professors are stimulated as no other university teachers in the world are, both to excellence and to rivalry.

I find in these circumstances the explanation of the fact that the German universities are the best

¹ "After the Reformation nearly all eminent men in Germany — poets, philosophers, and historians — belonged to the Protestant party, and resided chiefly at the universities. The universities were what the monasteries had been under Charlemagne, the castles under Frederick Barbarossa — the centres of gravitation for the intellectual and political life of the country. . . . The intellectual sceptre of Germany was wielded by a new nobility . . . that had its castles in the universities." — Müller, Professor Max, *German Classics*, Preface, xxvi.

now in existence, and also of the circumstance that among the multitude of their productions they have given to the public some most wild and perishable systems of thought.¹

VIII. RISE AND FALL OF PHILOSOPHICAL SYSTEMS.

Complete or partial overthrow of many celebrated schools in philosophy on which theology had unwisely been made to depend, is a recent cause of the power of rationalism in Germany, especially of the later materialistic phases of unbelief, which sneer at metaphysics as an impossible science. Never since Plato and Aristotle has so much metaphysical ability been displayed as by Kant, Fichte, Schelling, and Hegel; but in Germany Fichte and Schelling are obsolete; Hegel, obsolescent; Kant, only, has foundations upon which this century dares to build.

A Herbart, a Beneke, a Rothe, a Trendelenburg, a Schopenhauer have come and gone; but, for twenty-five years no commanding system of philosophy has arisen in a land which in philosophical gifts possesses the primacy of the world. A return to Aristotle and Kant has distinguished the later German metaphysics. To-day, in the hands of a Kuno Fischer, the history of philosophy is made to attract almost

¹ "Professorial knight-errantry still waits for its Cervantes. Nowhere have the objects of learning been so completely sacrificed to the means of learning; nowhere has that Dulcinea, — knowledge for its own sake, — with her dark veil and her barren heart, numbered so many admirers; nowhere have so many windmills been fought, and so many real enemies left unhurt, as in Germany, particularly during the last two centuries." — Müller, Professor Max, *German Classics*, Preface, xxvii.

as much attention as philosophy itself;¹ and in those of a Hermann Lotze,² metaphysics and physics are jointed together as the opposing ribs of a new vessel, which, perhaps, is destined to endure the shock of wind and wave where fleets ribbed with metaphysics only went down, even with Schellings, Fichtes, and Hegels at the helm. But neither Lotze nor Fischer pretends to undertake, what was the joy of older admirals, the circumnavigation of the yet uncircumnavigated globe of philosophy. These giants, among costly wrecks, pace to and fro sadly on the ocean shore. They do not set sail; and yet they perform for thought an incalculable service, by keeping the world in view of the limitless horizons. Meanwhile, out of sight of the sea, in the marshy interior of a grovelling materialism, a Moleschott and a Carl Vogt can assert that there is no ocean; and even the pygmy Büchner, from lack of height of outlook, through twenty editions of a shallow book, can proclaim the impossibility of both metaphysics and religion.

IX. DOCTRINAL UNREST OF THE AGE.

The doctrinal unrest of the age in most, from the acquisition of new facts in many, departments of thought, is a chief force in all modern history, and has been exceedingly efficient among the causes of German rationalism. Nearly every other branch of human inquiry besides theology has been supplied with a new method and new materials within a century; and it was neither to be expected nor desired

¹ *Geschichte der neueren Philosophie*, 6 Bände.

² *Mikrokosmos*, 2 Bände. Leipsig. 1872.

that scholars would not seek a new method for the latter science; and it was to be expected, though not desired, that when they could not find copious new materials for it, they would invent them. Really new materials, however, have been brought to theology in the last century from the department of exegetical research. An age of new truths and facts is necessarily a period of unrest as to old ones. Although ultimately it may be found that the old and the new agree, acquisition of fresh materials for belief, and the crystallization of those materials around ancient beliefs, are processes which do not succeed each other without an intervening space of investigation and uncertainty. It is upon precisely these intervening spaces in history that skepticism has seized as battle-fields, only to lose them one by one, in a long line of defeats reaching now through eighteen centuries. But there never was a more important intervening space of this sort than the last age in Germany, except the first age of Christianity in Asia and Europe.

X. STATE AID TO RATIONALISTIC SECTS.

State aid to rationalistic churches I class among the causes that have given rationalism power to make a noise in Germany. If a majority in a church at Heidelberg, for instance, vote for a rationalistic preacher, they can have him, and yet retain state aid. In America, under the voluntary system, rationalistic organizations soon disband, for they have not earnestness enough to pay their own expenses. But, in Germany, loaves and fishes keep them to-

gether under the endlessly vicious practical arrangements of the state churches.

There are three methods of arranging the relations of church and state: separation, or the American plan; exclusive establishment of one confession, or the English plan; concurrent establishment of several confessions, or the German plan. Catholics, Lutherans, and Calvinists had equal civil rights secured to them by the Peace of Westphalia. Even in Prussia, Romanists to-day have larger gifts from the public treasury than Protestants. Confessional equality, a great watchword, having in it the agonies and blisses of German religious life for centuries, is a cry never hypocritically uttered by the lips of Prussia.

But, although dissenters from the three recognized confessions have had no formal help from the state, it has been the theory of each establishment that the whole population must be baptized. Until very lately, every family, believing or unbelieving, was obliged to cause its children to profess faith and pass the rite of confirmation, or incur for the children the gravest civil disabilities. Thus, in practice, all dissenters have been really within, and not without, the church. In many of the smaller principalities, individual churches have become predominantly rationalistic, and yet have retained their income from the state.¹

¹ "Half, at least, of the destructive power of European infidelity in past generations has been due to the presence of the party within, instead of without, the church." — President Warren, of the Boston University, *Evangelical Alliance Report*, p. 253. New York. 1873.

XI. CATHOLICISM IN SOUTH GERMANY.

Catholicism, covering all South Germany, and stimulated to act the part of mere reactionary Romanism by influences from beyond the Alps and the Rhine, I rank as a powerful cause of German rationalism, for it has prevented half the German people from seeing what a church can accomplish; made the lives of vast peasant populations a prolonged childhood; disgusted scholars by its absurdities of doctrine; resisted the progress of the nation toward Protestant unity; and seeks now to destroy an empire whose power is the best guaranty of both peace and progress in Europe.

Pope Boniface wrote to Philip the Fair of France: "Boniface to Philip, greeting: Know thou, that thou art subject to us both in spiritual and temporal things." The king replied: "Philip to Boniface, little or no greeting: Know thou, O supreme fool, that in temporal things we are not subject to any one." Such would now be the answer of America or England or Scotland to similar pretensions; such is to-day the answer of Germany. If necessary, this answer would be given by Great Britain or the United States through the cannon's mouth; if necessary, it will so be given by the German Empire. Ultramontanism against nationality is the simple issue between the pope and Bismarck. First a Catholic and then a citizen, or first a citizen and then a Catholic, is the ancient question Berlin debates with Rome. In the long struggle between the civil and ecclesiastical power, England stood three hundred

years ago where Germany stands to-day. By the celebrated bill passed in 1581 "to restrain her majesty's subjects in their due obedience," parliament asserted in principle all that now causes outcry against the sternness of Prussia toward Romanists of the disloyal type. Summarizing with fairness the history of Ultramontanism for five hundred years, Bismarck said once to the Prussian parliament that "the goal which, like the Frenchman's dream of an unbroken Rhine boundary, floats before the papal party — the programme which, in the time of the mediæval emperors, was near its realization — is the subjection of the civil power to the ecclesiastical."¹ William I. writes to Pius IX. that Catholic citizens of Germany, at the instigation of Ultramontanism, conspire against the unity and peace of the empire. Pius IX. replies: "Every one who has been baptized belongs to the pope in some way or other."²

Henry IV., in smock and barefoot, stood three days in the snow before the palace of Pope Hildebrand at Canossa, imploring absolution. In 1872 Bismarck said of the German Empire: "We are not going to Canossa, spiritually or physically." But it was by barely a majority of one that great, rich, Romish Bavaria was brought to the aid of the rest of Germany in the war of self-defence against Napoleon III. France echoed the scorn of Philip the Fair in his famous answer of contempt to the pope; she is to-day governed by Ultramontanism. Canossa is not the goal of the centuries; but the feet of one

¹ Bismarck, *Speech in the Prussian House of Lords*, March 10, 1873.

² *Letter of Pius IX. to the Emperor William*, Aug. 7, 1873.

hundred and eighty millions of the human race yet tread its snows.

XII. SUMMARY OF CAUSES.

These, then, in my judgment, are the ten chief causes of the power of skepticism in Germany in the last century.

1. Fragmentary presentations of Christianity in the spirit of earnestness without science, or of science without earnestness.

2. Maladroit organization of the German state church ; first, in the use of compulsory confessions of faith at the confirmation legally required of the whole population, whether believing or unbelieving ; and secondly, in the absence of the familiar American and English distinction between the converted and the unconverted, and in a consequently stagnant church life.

3. Moral, intellectual, and social contagion from France.

4. The demoralization arising in Germany from its having been the principal theatre of European wars.

5. Support by the church of a popularly odious absolutism in politics.

6. German university life in its peculiar limitations and stimulations of free discussion.

7. The overthrow of several celebrated German systems of philosophy.

8. The doctrinal unrest of the age in most, from the acquisition of new facts in many, departments of thought.

9. State aid to rationalistic organizations.

10. Roman Catholicism in South Germany.

I am aware how difficult it is to present in proper perspective a complicated array of causes and effects extending through an hundred years; and that, for patriotic and political reasons, even candid German writers do not always arrive at a frank admission of the power of some of these causes. But whoever has read between the lines in European history, and listened to the whispered as well as to the spoken and printed thought of Germany, will recognize in this analysis her own unpublished judgment of herself. On such authority, it is well to be able to assure the superficial skeptic, that, in the most learned land on the globe, rationalism had several other sources of influence besides its own intellectual merits.¹ In view of these enumerated causes, it is not surprising, nor to a scholar's faith is it intellectually annoying, that skepticism has had power in Germany, and that it yet retains power among the slightly educated.

XIII. EMPTY RATIONALISTIC AND CROWDED EVANGELICAL LECTURE-ROOMS.

In the German universities the incontrovertible fact is that the rationalistic lecture-rooms are now empty, and the evangelical crowded; while fifty or eighty years ago the rationalistic were crowded, and the evangelical empty.

Lord Bacon says that the best materials for proph-

¹ As was to be expected, one of the places in Boston where information on the decline of rationalism in the German universities appears to be needed, is the Radical Club, yet misled by Hegel, on whom Transcendentalism built so arrogantly and incautiously forty years ago.

ecy are the unforced tendencies of educated young men. Take up any German year book, look at the statistics of the universities, ascertain which way the drift of educated youth is now setting in the most learned circles of the world, and you have before you no unimportant sign of the times.

But, in looking for this, you come upon another sign no less important, namely, that the leading universities of Germany are now, and eighty years ago were not, under predominant evangelical influence.

Berlin, beyond doubt the University of first importance, and hallowed by the great names of Schleiermacher, Neander, and Trendelenburg, is theologically led by Dorner, Semisch, Steinmeyer, and Twisten — staunch defenders of evangelical faith.

Leipzig, with Kahnis and Luthardt and Delitzsch — and lately with Tischendorf — among her professors, contests with Berlin for the first place, and in the opinion of many deserves that rank, and is the renowned traditional seat of an orthodoxy which at some points New England and Scotland — agreeing in the main with the present attitude of Berlin — might consider excessive.

Halle, whose theology permeates Germany, both from the University and from Francke's famous Waisenhaus, has in it Tholuck, and Köstlin, and Kähler, and Guericke, and Jacobi, and Schlottmann, and Julius Müller, known throughout the world as antagonists, and as successful antagonists, of the subtlest forms of skepticism. It is not uncommon to hear Julius Müller spoken of as the ablest theologian of Germany.

Tübingen itself, where Strauss put forth one of his earlier works, and Baur founded a theological party, has had in it for years no Tübingen school, but, through the professorships of Beck, Palmer, and Landerer, is permeated by vigorous evangelical influences.

Heidelberg, under the theological leadership of Schenkel, Hitzig, Gass, and Holtzmann, is to-day the only prominent University of Germany given to views that can be called rationalistic.

Now, which of these institutions is most patronized by German theological students? Halle and Berlin may be compared, in a general way, as to their theology, with Andover and New Haven; Leipzig, with Princeton; and Heidelberg, with the Unitarian portion of Cambridge.

I found Dorner's, Müller's, and Tholuck's lecture-rooms crowded, and Schenkel's empty. In 1872-73 there were but twenty-four German theological students at Heidelberg; and I have heard Schenkel often, and never saw more than nine, eight, or seven students in his lecture-room. Against twenty-four German theological students at Heidelberg, there are one hundred and thirty-two at Leipzig, two hundred and fifty-seven at Halle, two hundred and thirty-nine at Berlin. But, counting both the native and the foreign theological students in these institutions, the whole number at rationalistic Heidelberg is thirty-four; at evangelical Halle, two hundred and eighty-two; at evangelical Berlin, two hundred and eighty; at hyper-evangelical Leipzig, four hundred and twelve.¹

¹ Meyer, *Deutsches Jahrbuch*. Erster Jahrgang, p. 1002.

It must be remembered that German students often change universities, as occasionally American students change theological schools, — passing one period in one and another in another, according to the attractions of different professors. It is immaterial to the German student where he hears lectures, provided he is prepared to pass with credit the severe final examinations. When a professor is called from one university to another, a large number of his hearers often follow him. Thus it is a fair test of the direction of the drift of educated youth in Germany, to point to the fact that they give their patronage to evangelical, rather than to rationalistic, professors, and this in the overwhelming proportion of ten to one.

XIV. TESTIMONY OF THOLUCK, DORNER, CHRISTLIEB, SCHWARZ, AND KAHNIS.

“By far, by far,” was Professor Tholuck’s constant answer, when asked by foreign students if orthodoxy is not stronger in Prussia than fifty or eighty years ago.

In 1826, at Halle, all the students except five, who were the only ones that believed in the Deity of our Lord, and all the professors of the University united in a petition to the government against Tholuck’s appointment to a professorship there, and the opposition rested solely on the ground of his evangelical belief.¹ The students at Tübingen, not far from the same date, ceremoniously burned the Bible. “When

¹ Tholuck, *Letter to the New York Meeting of the Evangelical Alliance. Report*, 1873.

I came to Halle," said Professor Tholuck to me once, as he walked up and down that famous, long, vine-clad arbor in his garden where his personal interviews with German and foreign students have exerted an influence felt in two hemispheres, "I could go twenty miles across the country and not once find what, to use an English word, is called an experimental Christian. I was very unpopular. I was subjected to annoyance, even in my lecture-room, on account of my evangelical belief." "His adversaries are bold and cunning. A baptism of fire awaits him at Halle," wrote Frederick Perthes of the young professor, in 1826.¹

Contrast these murky threats of Tholuck's morning with the clear sky of his westering sun. In December, 1870, he had completed so much of a half century of work at the University of Halle that three days were given by his friends to the celebration of the event. There were social gatherings and suppers and speeches at the hotels. All the halls and staircases of Tholuck's residence were crowded with guests. The Emperor William sent to him the Star of the Red Eagle. Court preacher Hoffmann brought to him the salutations of the ecclesiastical council as to a veritable church father of the nineteenth century. The various universities of Germany were represented by their ablest professors. Pastors of different cities sent delegations. A letter to Tholuck was received signed by theologians at that hour in the army before Paris. An immense torch-light procession of students filled a night with Luther's hymn :—

¹ Perthes, *Memoirs*, vol. ii. p. 268.

“Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott.”

“No one can deny,” Professor Tholuck would say to me repeatedly, “that since the death of Frederick the Great, or the French Revolution, or the opening of the century, or even since fifty or forty years ago, there has been a great reaction in Germany against infidelity and rationalism.

“You are right in pointing to the impotence of the edict issued in favor of orthodoxy by Frederick William II. on the death of Frederick the Great, as proof that it has not been the favorable attitude of the state towards orthodoxy that has caused the reaction. Frederick the Great had no influence to promote skepticism in the lower and middle, but he did mischief among the upper classes.

“Frederick William III. and Frederick William IV. were favorable to orthodoxy; and William I., our emperor, is thoroughly so. Much depends on the attitude of the court at Berlin in respect to the churches. In Weimar, however, a preacher without belief in the Deity of Christ, and with denial of miracles, may be connected with the state church. In respect to orthodoxy, Weimar is one of the most lax of all the provinces of Germany. It would probably not be true to say that in the small territory of Weimar, infidelity is less powerful than fifty years ago, although that is most certainly the case in Prussia.

“Hagenbach has written a ‘History of the Rise, Progress, and Decline of German Rationalism,’ and his book I put first into the hands of foreign students coming to Germany and asking information from

me. I am myself writing a work on the same subject.

“As to men of science and professors in the philosophical faculties with us, they are often uninformed concerning theology; but materialism makes much less noise in Germany than in England. If a man is a materialist, we Germans think he is not educated.”

On account of their having little freedom to discuss political, German professors are intensely jealous of their liberty to discuss literary, scientific, philosophical, and theological topics. Whoever has breathed the quickening oxygen of the atmosphere of a German university will understand very well that it is by no means the changed attitude of the state toward orthodoxy that has brought about the reaction against rationalism. Skepticism had its greatest power under Frederick William II. and Frederick William III., who opposed, as much as Frederick the Great had favored, rationalism. In Germany it is almost a proverb that the soul of a university is made up of *Lehr Freiheit* and *Lern Freiheit*.

“No,” said Professor Dorner, in his study at Berlin, when I mentioned Professor Tholuck’s opinion of Weimar; “rationalism even in Weimar and Thuringia was quite as strong fifty years ago as it now is.”

“That is nothing” (*Das ist nichts*), he remarked emphatically, and added no more, speaking of the rationalism of Renan.

“The writers who discuss materialism,” he said,

“are in Germany more anti-dogmatic than ethical. As to the rationalists themselves, we have more who agree with Channing than with Parker.

“The mass of our preachers are genuine believers, but among the populace one can sometimes find infidelity. The mass of our divines are convinced ; but they are too contentious. In Prussia, unbelief is much weaker than fifty years ago, or in the time of Frederick the Great. Then rationalism was the loyal theology. Most certainly, most certainly, rationalism in Germany, taken as a whole, is plainly and by far weaker than fifty years ago.”

“The proposal,” says Professor Christlieb, “to implore the divine blessing and assistance on the deliberations of the Frankfort parliament in 1848 was received with shouts of derisive laughter.” “For the last thirty years,” he writes, “in spite of all hostilities, a truly Christian science has begun victoriously to lead the way, by new and deeper exegetical researches ; by historical investigation ; by pointing out the remarkable harmony existing between many new archæological, ethnological, and scientific discoveries. In the pulpit of by far the greater number of the German churches, and in the theological faculties of most of the universities, it has so completely driven unbelief out of the field, that the latter has been compelled to retire, in a great measure, into the divinity schools of adjacent countries, — Switzerland, France, Holland, Hungary. When compared with these and other countries, Germany shows that unbelief has a greater tendency to insinuate itself into, and to make its permanent

abode among, half-educated, rather than thoroughly educated, communities." ¹

"So much is to be confessed," says court preacher Schwartz of Gotha, author of the acutest ² of the histories of recent theology, "Schleiermacher's work has been incomparably more enduring, and quietly and inwardly transforming, than Hegel's. Schleiermacher's influences yet advance, while those of Hegel are exhausted and dead." ³

"It is spring," said Professor Kahnis of Leipzig, in 1874. "The period since the wars of liberation represents the conflict of the newly quickened heat of the German mind with the masses of snow and ice of the *Aufklärung*. Until to-day the conflict endures; but ever mightier grows the sun, ever weaker the winter." ⁴

This testimony of German professors to the fact of the decline of skepticism in the German universities I might make voluminous; but it is enough to show the accord of confidential and colloquial with printed testimony, and the agreement of five such authorities as Tholuck, Dorner, Christlieb, Schwarz, and Kahnis.

¹ Christlieb, Professor Theodore, *Modern Doubt and Christian Belief*, pp. 18, 63.

² Farrar, A. G., *Critical History of Free Thought, Bampton Lectures*, Preface, xxv.

³ Schwarz, Dr. Carl, *Oberhofprediger und Oberconsistorialrath zu Gotha, Zur Geschichte der neuesten Theologie*, Vierte Auflage, 25. Leipzig. 1869.

⁴ Kahnis, Professor K. F. A., *Der innere Gang des deutschen Protestantismus, Dritte Ausgabe. Zweiter Theil*, 162. Leipzig. 1874. These four are the best recent works on German Rationalism.

XV. SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE.

Both the Prussian Constitution and the fundamental statutes of the German Empire alike declare that the evangelical church shall be free to manage its own internal affairs. Schleiermacher himself, in 1808, drew up for the king a sketch of a church constitution which foreshadowed much that is now becoming law. The cabinet order of Frederick William III. gathered, in 1817, the Lutheran and Reformed churches into an evangelical union. The contest with Romanism has now obliged Prussia to give to that union as much independence of the state as Romanists enjoy. The eight provinces of the old Prussian kingdom, that is to say, nearly all the Protestants of North Germany, are being drawn together under one church constitution, of which the principle is essentially Presbyterian. The effects are likely to prove inauspicious to rationalism, which has steadily resisted the abolition of the bureaucratic management of the ecclesiastical and religious life of the nation.

Church and state in Germany are slowly separating; the bureaucratic tutelage and bondage of the church are becoming things of the past; a determined purpose is exhibited, on the part of both government and scholars, to call out a regulated religious activity among the masses of the people. As the German peasantry and middle class have never been taught to give money freely for religious organizations managed by themselves; as the rationalism outgrown in the universities has only too much power

with the populace, especially in the large towns ; as Sabbath-schools and prayer-meetings, and all the machinery of the voluntary system in church affairs, are in Germany conspicuous by their absence, the separation of church and state in the empire will not occur without many most painful temporary disadvantages.¹ The poorer clergy will starve for a time, and there will be wide tracts of baptized torpor and unbaptized indifference and paganism in the religious life of the lower classes. Ultimately, however, when the dangers of allowing religious marshes to go undrained have become sufficiently evident and alarming, and the impotence of rationalism to drain malarious soil has received adequate illustration, German sagacity and honesty will cause the stagnant fens of German church life to wake with currents which, it is to be hoped, will one day make of its green, sedgy, and pestilential pools a clear, flashing, and brimming river.

XVI. GERMAN PRIMACY IN EUROPE.

Immense commercial, political, and moral advantages accrue to Germany from her unity, sought in agony for two hundred years. Schiller did not hesi-

¹ "In many sections of Germany, especially the northern regions, where Lutheranism prevails, the congregations are almost as passive, dependent, and incapable of self-government as in the Roman Catholic Church, and Luther's complaint of the want of material for elders and deacons must be repeated in this nineteenth century after Protestantism has been in operation for more than three hundred years. The people are only expected to be ruled, and hence they have no chance to learn individual and congregational self-government, which must be gradually acquired, like every other art." — Schaff, *Professor Philip, Germany, its Universities, Theology, and Religion*, pp. 112, 113.

tate to say that Europe was sufficiently compensated for the horrors of the 'Thirty Years' War by an increased sense of the interdependence and need of union among its nations.¹ At Sadowa, in 1866, at the close of the battle which gave to Central Europe Prussian and Protestant, instead of Austrian and Romish leadership, and ended a struggle which Frederick the Great began, the sun came forth from under heavy clouds in the low west, and the united armies of North and South Germany, struck by the omen, gathered around their commander and sang: —

“ Now all thank God ! ”

In that late hour the Reformation first became politically an assured success in the land of its birth. Sadowa is Germany's best hope of internal, Sedan her best hope of external, freedom from war.

But whenever Germany, beaten down almost constantly under the hoofs of military strife, has had time to catch breath, she has shown a recuperative power that has astonished all Europe. In the thirty years after the battle of Waterloo, her soil was not once touched by war, or by the tread of foreign troops. Her historians assign to that period her first real recovery from the effects of the 'Thirty Years' War. In 1818, bold, wise, indefatigable Prussia

¹ “ Aber Europa ging ununterdrückt und frei aus diesem fürchterlichen Krieg, in welchem es sich zum erstenmal als eine zusammenhängende Staatengesellschaft erkannt hatte; und diese Theilnehmung der Staaten an einander, welche sich in diesem Krieg eigentlich erst bildete, wäre allein schon Gewinn genug, den Weltbürger mit seinem Schrecken zu versöhnen.” — Schiller, *Geschichte des dreissigjährigen Kriegs*, *Sämmtliche Werke*, v. 2.

abolished all duties upon goods in transit through its own territories. For commercial purposes Germany became a unit in 1828. Even under the imperfect league of Zoll Verein her navy was the third in extent in the world. Agriculture grew prosperous. Capitals of princes were not the only cities distinguished for wealth and culture. At the mere dawn of that national unity and peace, of which the full sunrise was at Sedan, commerce in Germany awoke from the dead. The rapid growth of Cologne, Breslau, Magdeburg, Nuremberg, and Berlin amazed Vienna and wounded Paris. The overshadowing and swiftly-increasing prosperity of Germany and her approaches to political unity drew upon her the attack of Napoleon III. Sedan opened to Victor Emmanuel, Rome; to the angels Peace and Union, entrance on German soil; to Napoleon, his grave; to contagion from France, an antidote. At last Germany has military and political, as well as intellectual primacy in Europe. Versailles leads her fashions no more. Voltaire is not asked to be her tutor.

On those very grounds of Sans-Souci, where Frederick the Great and Voltaire had called out to the culture of Europe, "Ecrasez l'infame!" King William and his queen lately entertained an Evangelical Alliance gathered from the Indus, the Nile, the Danube, the Rhine, the Thames, and the Mississippi.

XVII. BAUR, STRAUSS, AND RENAN.

But who does not know the history of the defeat of skeptical school after skeptical school on the rationalistic side of the field of exegetical research?

The naturalistic theory was swallowed by the mythical theory, and the mythical by the tendency theory, and the tendency by the legendary theory, and each of the four by time. Strauss laughs at Paulus, Baur at Strauss, Renan at Baur, the hour-glass at all. "Under his guidance," says Strauss of Paulus, "we tumble into the mire; and assuredly dross, not gold, is the issue to which his method of interpretation generally leads."¹ "Up to the present day," says Baur of Strauss, "the mythical theory has been rejected by every man of education."² "Insufficient," says Renan of Baur, "is what he leaves existing of the gospels to account for the faith of the apostles."³ He makes the Pauline and Petrine factions account for the religion, and the religion account for the Pauline and Petrine factions. "Criticism has run all to leaves," said Strauss, in his bitter disappointment at the failure of his final volume.⁴

Appropriately was there carried on Richter's coffin to his grave a manuscript of his last work — a discussion in proof of the immortality of the soul; appro-

¹ Strauss, *New Life of Jesus* (Eng. trans.), p. 18.

² Baur, *Krit. Untersuch. über die canonischen Evangel.*, 121, 40-71.

³ Renan, *Étude d'Hist. Rel.*, 168.

⁴ "Baur acknowledged the four leading epistles of Paul to be genuine, and to have been written before A. D. 60. Now this admission is fatal to the sister theory of Strauss; for these epistles prove that Jesus was not an ordinary man, around whose idolized memory his disciples, in the course of a century or so, wreathed mythical fictions, not knowing what they did, but that the culminating facts of his life, the leading traits of his character as given in our so-called mythical gospels, were familiar to the Christian world within twenty-five years after his death." — Thayer, Professor J. Henry, *Boston Lectures*, p. 372. 1871.

priately might there have been carried on Strauss's coffin to his grave his last work, restating his mythical theory, if only that theory had not, as every scholar knows, died and been buried before its author.¹

XVIII. SUMMARY OF PROOFS.

Among the proofs, then, that skepticism in Germany is declining in power with those whose special study is theology, are the facts:—

1. That in the German universities the rationalistic lecture-rooms are now empty, and the evangelical crowded; while fifty or eighty years ago the rationalistic were crowded, and the evangelical empty.

2. That histories of the rise, progress, and decline of German rationalism have been appearing for the

¹ Zeller, the admiring biographer of Strauss, says: "As a point of weakness in his last volume, *The Old and New Faith*, he designated in one of his letters the beginning of the fourth section on morals. 'Here,' he writes, 'immediately after the appearance of the work, a couple of solid beams have still to be inserted, and if you could supply me with a few oak or even pine stems, you would deserve my sincere thanks.' The public discussions of the work were almost without exception disapproving. . . . Average theological liberalism pressed forward eagerly to renounce all compromising association with Strauss after he published this last statement of his mythical theory. He was deeply grieved, and it required some days before he could regain his calm composure."—Zeller, Professor Eduard, of the Heidelberg University, *Strauss in his Life and Writings* (Eng. trans.), pp. 135, 141, 143. London. 1874. "The idea of men writing mythic histories between the time of Livy and Tacitus, and St. Paul mistaking such for realities!"—Bunsen, *Arnold's Life*, Letter cxliv. Strauss "bezeichnet nicht sowohl eine Epoche als eine Krise, nicht sowohl einen Anfangs- als einen Schlusspunkt. . . . Die Einseitigkeit des Strauss'schen Geistes, welche bei allem Glanz seiner Detail Kritik in den neuesten Werke besonders auffallend hervortritt, ist ein doppeltes Vacat, ein Mangel an geschichtlichem Blick und religiösem Sinn."—Schwarz, *Geschichte der neuesten Theologie*, 3, 557.

last fifteen years in the most learned portions of the literature of Germany.

3. That such teachers as Tholuck, Julius Müller, Dorner, Twesten, Ullmann, Lange, Rothe, and Tischendorf, most of whom began their professorships with great unpopularity in their universities, on account of their opposition to rationalistic views, are now particularly honored on that very account.

4. That every prominent German university, except Heidelberg, is now under predominant evangelical influences, and that Heidelberg is nearly empty of theological students.

5. That the attitude of the general government at Berlin has destroyed the force of many of the political causes of disaffection with the state church.

6. That the victory at Sedan and the achievement of German unity diminish the chances of demoralization from European wars and by contagion from France.

7. That in the field of exegetical research, while rationalism has caused the discovery of many new facts and the adoption of a new method, the naturalistic theory by Paulus, the mythical theory by Strauss, the tendency theory by Baur, and the legendary by Renan, have been so antagonistic to each other as to be successively outgrown both by Christian and by rationalistic scholarship.

XIX. RESULTS OF SCIENTIFIC CRITICISM.

Beyond controversy are many great results of theological discussions in Germany for the last hundred years. Nor have the attacks of rationalism been an

unmixed evil. A doctrine of the intuitions, basis of all ethical and metaphysical research, has been established by Kant. A doctrine of conscience, growing up from the Kantian theory of the intuitions, is acquiring a height of outlook, from which the far-sighted already descry the scientific inference of the necessity of an atonement. A doctrine of sin, built on the doctrine of conscience, has been made by Julius Müller to unlock all theology.

A doctrine of the personality of God has been founded upon the Kantian analysis of the intuitions, and has already supplied the chief deficiencies of Kant's own system, besides undermining the pantheism of Fichte, Schelling, and Hegel.

A system of criticism has grown up in relation to everything historical in Christianity, and exegetical research has been placed upon a thoroughly scientific basis.

A vindication of the historical evidence of the supernatural has followed from an application of the new system of criticism.

A series of discoveries has been made, illuminating at important points the records of the origin of Christianity, and carrying back the date of the chief documents a full half of a century, narrowing by so much the previously too narrow space used by the skeptical theory to account for the growth of myths and legends, and so shutting the colossal shears of chronology upon the latest deftly-woven web of historical doubt.¹

¹ "Twenty years ago it used to be thought that the earliest proof of the reception of New Testament writings as of similar authority

A Life of Christ is now the most natural form in which belief, resting upon a system of criticism common to sacred and secular history, expresses and defends its credence.

XX. CHRISTIAN TREND OF THE CENTURIES.

Whoever ascertains the trend of the historic constellations through long periods obtains a glimpse of the hem of the garment of Almighty God. What Providence does, it from the first intends. A sifting of Christianity has taken place in this last age by a prolonged contest of unbelief with faith, each armed with the best Damascus blades the world furnishes either to-day; and the result has been a defeat of doubt on all central points. It is, therefore, now certain that it was divinely intended that there should

to the Old was to be found about the year 180; but recent discoveries furnish indubitable evidence that even the gospels had acquired such a reception more than half a century earlier. . . . These discoveries, by carrying back for half a century the indubitable traces of the gospels, prove such theories as those of Baur, Strauss, and Renan, to be pure theories, . . . not only unsupported by the facts of history, but in opposition to the facts of history. . . . As a sect in biblical criticism, the Tübingen school has perished. Its history, even, has been written, and that in more than one tongue." — Thayer, Professor J. Henry, *Criticism Confirmatory of the Gospels*. *Boston Lectures*, pp. 363, 364, 371. 1871. "Schenkel, Renan, Keim, Weizsäcker, and others equally removed from the traditional views, unite in insisting that the fourth Gospel could not have appeared later than a few years after the beginning of the second century. They found this opinion on irrefutable grounds. But if this be so, the key-stone falls from the arch. The course of development which the Tübingen critics describe, extending for a century from the death of Paul, and requiring this time for its accomplishment, is swept away. There is no room for it." — Fisher, Professor George P., *Essays on the Supernatural Origin of Christianity*, xxxviii. (new ed.) 1870.

be a sifting of Christianity in this last age, and that a defeat of doubt should be the result. Prolonged historic tendencies are God allowing portions of his plan of the government of the world to become humanly comprehensible.

When the completion of a cycle of events reveals what the plan of the cycle was from the first, it behooves men, coördinating latest with earliest cycles, to ascertain the trend of the movements in the sky; and to gaze, more solemnly than upon the stars themselves, upon that Form loftier than the stars, which passes by in the darkness behind them, its outlines not wholly visible, but the direction not unknown in which it is moving the constellations.

I commend this German theological battle-field to the timid and the hopeful who go out to walk and meditate in the world's eventide. Goethe could say that the only real, and the deepest theme of the world's and of man's history, to which all other subjects are subordinate, is the conflict between faith and unbelief.¹ We are the ancients, as Bacon said. But the inscription written by history, which is God's finger and no accident, before the sad eyes of the bruised and staggering ages, on the trophy erected after the severest intellectual battle of this oldest and newest of the centuries, is, *Via Crucis, Via Lucis!*

I do not respect any proposition merely because it is ancient, or in the mouths of majorities. But I do respect propositions that have seen honest and protracted battle, but not defeat. The test of the sound-

¹ Goethe, Werke, *Abhandlungen zum westöstlichen Divan.*

ness of scholarship is that it should contend with scholarship, not once or twice, but century after century, and come out crowned. But the intellectual supremacy of Christianity in the nineteenth century is not a novelty. There are other battle-fields worth visiting by those who walk and meditate, on which Christian trophies stand, more important, as marks of the world's agonies and advances, than any that ever Greek erected for victory at Salamis or Marathon. I lean on church history. I go to its battle-fields and lie down on them. They are places of spiritual rest. Gazing on their horizon, I see no narrow prospect, but a breadth of nineteen hundred victorious years. Looking into the sky, as I lie there, I hear sometimes the anthem: As it was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be, world without end. I obtain glimpses of a heaven opened; and behold a white horse, and He that sits on him is called the Word of God, King of kings, and Lord of lords. He is clothed in a vesture dipped in blood; but his eyes are as a flame of fire, and on his head are many crowns.

APPENDIX II.

THEODORE CHRISTLIEB AND GERMAN CHURCH LIFE.

THOLUCK, Julius Müller, and Hermann Lotze have passed into the Unseen World, and Germany seems lonely and empty without them. Dorner and Kahnis, Delitzsch and Lange are now aged men, and although their westering suns are yet the chief glory of the German theological sky, they each draw near to the rim of the horizon.

Among the comparatively young men who are likely yet to be organizing and redemptive forces in German theology and church life, no one more thoroughly deserves the intellectual confidence and the devout prayers of Evangelical Christendom than Theodore Christlieb, of Bonn. He was born March 7, 1833, at Berkenfeld, Würtemberg, studied theology at Tübingen, and has been professor at Bonn since 1868. Besides being perhaps the most incisive and quickening university preacher in Germany, and one of the most accomplished Christian apologists of modern times, he is an ecclesiastical statesman, with a keen sense of both the merits and the defects of German, English, and American church systems,

and an evangelical aggressive reformer who has not forgotten how to get on his knees.

It was my fortune, on the 1st and again on the 7th of July, 1881, to attend at Bonn, in the Scotch Presbyterian Church, what Thomas Chalmers would have called a Bible-meeting, and to find there Professor Christlieb, seated in front of the pulpit, with the Rev. Dr. Graham, the pastor, and taking large and most impressive part in the explanation of the Scriptures and in prayer. A sight like this can be seen, so far as I am aware, in no other university town of Germany. There were present some fifty or sixty persons, of whom perhaps twenty-five were men, including in their number several German and Scottish theological students, but not participating personally in the exercises. This weekly meeting, of which the exercises are wholly in German, and which is held in a Presbyterian Church founded here by incredible labor on the part of Dr. Graham, represents the best spiritual culture among the members of the Protestant state church in Bonn. The size of the assembly from week to week is attributable chiefly to Professor Christlieb's regular presence in it. Except that laymen were not urged or even invited to take part, the service which I attended resembled a New England prayer-meeting, led by a pastor, assisted by some distinguished professor of theology, in a college town. Professor Christlieb, sitting in his chair, spoke on each of the two occasions for fifteen or twenty minutes on the passage of Scripture containing the Seven Epistles to the churches of Asia, and then knelt down upon the

bare floor and offered a long, fervent, and most impressive prayer.

Incredible as it may seem, Professor Christlieb's participation in this devotional meeting finds critics among the adherents of an ossified confessionism in the German state churches. Lukewarm and arrogant Broad Church preachers, who think that the baptism of infants and the confirmation of boys and girls at the age of fourteen in the establishment are nearly or quite saving ordinances, and who make little or no distinction between the converted and the unconverted in their congregations, are naturally much annoyed by the emphasis with which Professor Christlieb teaches the doctrine of the necessity of the New Birth. Loose and liberalistic theological professors look coldly, or with positive aversion, on this gathering of a few devout and cultured people in Bonn, and deprecate its spiritual earnestness as divisive and pharisaical. Preaching which makes no effective distinction between the regenerate and the unregenerate Professor Christlieb regards as the chief curse of the German state church, and he speaks of it with spiritual horror, as flattering souls to perdition.

It is, most unhappily, a very rare thing indeed for theological students in Germany to hold prayer-meetings among themselves. So much does their spiritual culture suffer neglect in the torpid congregations of the state churches, that these young men, when they come to the universities, rarely understand the wisdom of the proverb "*Bene orasse est bene studuisse.*" It was Professor Tholuck's (and it

is also Professor Christlieb's) constant complaint, that, while German theological training is intellectually more thorough than the Scotch or American, it is spiritually less so. Professor Christlieb evidently means to introduce, by personal example, a higher wisdom. It is one sign of the ghastly inefficiency of the German establishment that his efforts in furtherance of indispensable spiritual activity in the church are met with misapprehension and opposition. He is sometimes accused most unjustly of being more an Englishman or an American in his ideas of church life than a German.

It is true that Professor Christlieb was seven years pastor of a German congregation in London, and that he has made a profound study of the best and worst traits of Scotch and American churches. The venerable Dr. Andrew Bonar's well-known "Life and Labors of McCheyne," a saintly volume, redolent of the richest incense that ever rose from the religious altars of Scotland, Professor Christlieb has caused to be translated into German. "You cut me to pieces," writes an honest reader of this book to Professor Christlieb. "In my seventieth year, I learn from McCheyne and from Scotland what I ought to have done and might have done in my German parish."

Professor Christlieb has also published lately a preface to a German translation of the American life of President Finney, and has spoken with favor of the revival lectures of this theologian and great evangelist. He has been invited to lecture next year at Yale and Oberlin, and would receive an overwhelm-

ing welcome in America, if it should be possible for him to visit these institutions. His work on "Modern Doubt," and his remarkable address on that theme at the meeting of the Evangelical Alliance in New York, in 1873, have given him multitudes of readers in America and Great Britain. His accomplished wife is an English lady by birth. Her father, the Rev. J. James Weitbrecht, was a German clergyman in connection with the English Establishment, and her mother, Mrs. Weitbrecht, also an English lady, is a highly valued writer, and noted in London for her zeal in various forms of religious effort. Professor Christlieb's elaborate volume on "The Life and Doctrine of John Scotus Erigena" was published in 1860, when he was only twenty-seven years of age, and obtained for him the degree of doctor of divinity from Berlin University. This treatise compares the system of Erigena with those of subsequent writers, and shows great learning; but it exhibits only one aspect of its author's many-sided sympathies and culture. His latest work, already translated into English, Spanish, Dutch, and Swedish, gives a comprehensive view of Christian missions throughout the world; and a recent publication of his, which he calls a recess study, discusses the atrocities of the British opium trade in Burmah and China. It is true that Professor Christlieb is perhaps better acquainted with England, Scotland, and America than any other German theological professor, and thus excels his contemporaries of his own country in his breadth of outlook. It is not true, however, that any one of them all is more genuinely German or

more devoutly attached to all that is best in the German church than he. His ideas concerning the methods by which German church life may be improved are precisely those which Scotland, England, and America would indorse, and yet he is thoroughly German in his whole conception of the scientific side of theological training.

Professor Christlieb does not fear the rivalry of any new school of rationalistic thought, arising or yet to arise, among the younger theological professors of Germany. Evangelical teachers here have seen the rise and fall of so many schools of rationalism that alarm is not easily excited in educated minds by novelties of method in the attacks made on central Christian doctrines. Professor Christlieb's father was trained in theology at Tübingen, when infidel influences in that University were at their height. All the members of his class were graduated as confirmed rationalists. They nevertheless found employment in the state church. Little by little the progress of their studies and their practical experience of the work of the ministry brought most of them back to evangelical views of Christianity, and at last all of them returned to the faith which for eighteen hundred years has seen battle, but not defeat. As a sect in biblical criticism, the Tübingen school has perished. The mythical theory as to the origin of Christianity is exploded. Strauss is no longer heard of here in discussions with infidels. His day, and even that of Schenkel and Renan, have gone by. The most dangerous tendency of the newer form of rationalism connects itself with

the philosophy of evolution and the speculations of materialistic physicists. Ernst Haeckel, however, has no important following in Germany. The best, though not the noisiest naturalists here, as in Scotland and England, are unapologetic and thorough theists. On the side of historical criticism Wellhausen and Kuenen represent decidedly erratic tendencies, greatly deplored, and yet not regarded by men like Delitzsch, Lange, and Dorner as destined to exert any prolonged influence. Just at present the views of Ritschl, in Göttingen, are attracting attention ; but he does not command the confidence of the leaders of evangelical thought, and some of his followers are proclaiming what Professor Christlieb calls, with an emphasis of intellectual disdain, "mere shallow Unitarianism."

It is true to-day, as it has been for the last fifteen or twenty years, in Germany that the rationalistic theological professors attract far fewer students than the evangelical. According to the "Universitäts Kalender" for 1880-81, rationalistic Heidelberg has only twenty-four theological students, while evangelical Berlin has 230, evangelical Halle, 304, and hyper-evangelical Leipzig, 437. At one time, recently, Heidelberg University had seven theological professors, all rationalists, and only seven theological students. Professor Christlieb assures me that the number of theological students in Germany is now decidedly on the increase, although it diminished for a while under the operation of the notorious Falk Laws, now happily superseded in large part by the better ar-

rangements of his successors.¹ Falk appointed as teachers in the gymnasia very many thoroughgoing rationalists, who were accustomed to sneer at any of their pupils who proposed to study divinity, and thus did their utmost to diminish the number of theological students in the universities. Until Andover and Princeton in America and the Free Church theological colleges in Scotland added a fourth year to their courses of study, the theological training given in Germany was confessedly superior in merely intellectual thoroughness to that of any other portion of the world. The great need of Germany is such spiritual awakening as may lead to aggressive church life, and transform her university training into a Pillar of Fire, through which God can look and trouble the hosts of his enemies and take off their chariot-wheels.

BONN ON THE RHINE, *July 8, 1881.*

¹ The highly suggestive work entitled *Das Universitätsstudium in Deutschland während der letzten 50 Jahre*, by Dr. J. Conrad, professor in the law faculty of the Halle University, shows that in the last twenty-two years, or from 1860 to 1882, the number of students in attendance on all the faculties of the German universities has doubled. In the last ten years, however, or from 1872 to 1882, the number of students in attendance on the Faculty of Evangelical Theology has doubled. At the time of the last reports (1884) the number of students in this faculty was: Leipzig, 638; Halle, 488; Berlin, 459; Tübingen, 366; Erlangen, 305; Göttingen, 197; Königsberg, 158; Griefswald, 129; Jena, 127; Breslau, 117; Bonn, 109; Kiel, 72; Strasburg, 72; Giessen, 68; Heidelberg, 54; Rostock, 50. About fifty years ago, there were 15.6 theological students to every 100,000 inhabitants of Germany; ten years ago, only 6.7; in 1882, 10.5; in 1883, over 11.

APPENDIX III.

THE NEW HOUSE AND ITS BATTLEMENT; OR, THE RELATIONS OF THE TEMPERANCE REFORM TO CIVIL LIBERTY AND CHURCH LIFE.

A LECTURE AT THE METROPOLITAN TABERNACLE,
LONDON, FOR THE NATIONAL TEMPERANCE
LEAGUE, MAY 1, 1881.

“When thou buildest a new house, then thou shalt make a battlement for thy roof, that thou bring not blood upon thine house, if any man fall from thence.” — DEUTERONOMY xxii. 8.

“It is good neither to eat flesh, nor to drink wine, nor anything whereby thy brother stumbleth, or is offended, or is made weak.” — ROMANS xiv. 21.

“I have led you forty years in the wilderness : your clothes are not waxen old upon you, and thy shoe is not waxen old upon thy foot. Ye have not eaten bread, neither have ye drunk wine or strong drink : that ye might know that I am the Lord your God.” — DEUTERONOMY xxix. 5, 6.

“The Lord spake unto Aaron, saying, Do not drink wine nor strong drink, thou, nor thy sons with thee, when ye go into the tabernacle of the congregation, lest ye die : it shall be a statute for ever throughout your generations : and that ye may put difference between holy and unholy, and between unclean and clean.” — LEVITICUS x. 8-10.

UNDER a thoroughly free government, the extension of the suffrage to ignorant and intemperate populations inevitably places the scoundrel class at the

head of affairs. A drunken people cannot be a free people. Are we therefore to infer that free governments are so dangerous that we must consider them condemned of God's Providence even in these late ages of the world? Britons and Americans are not likely to be of that opinion, for if there is any one thing for which we have suffered more than for any other outside of our religion itself, it is civil liberty, representative government, freedom of political opinion. I am not now touching at all upon the differences between American and British civilization, but I am asking you to notice that on both sides of the Atlantic we are free; all of us, Britons and Americans, are under the government of representative institutions. Evil opinion expressing itself by means of the ballot has opportunity to do harm in Britain and America, such as it cannot do in any other countries of the world less free. By as much as political freedom is extended, by so much, drunkenness amongst voters becomes a national mischief, sometimes threatening the very life of representative institutions themselves.

This, then, is the new house we are building in modern days, — civil liberty under representative institutions. What is the proper battlement to be placed around the roof? How are we to preserve this mansion from blood-guiltiness? How are Americans and Britons to solve the problem they have been discussing for centuries, — the question how a government of opinion under representative institutions may become safe and worthy of the blessing of Almighty God?

The future of government of the people by the people and for the people, is inseparably bound up with the cause of the sobriety of the people. I am not about to deliver a secular address, but as I speak here to-day as an American, and could not deliver a British address if I were to try, I must be allowed to say that Americans have made up their minds that the safety of freedom such as theirs is closely connected with the spread of temperance among the voting populations. You are sometimes told that the cause which I am to defend to-day has advanced further in the United States than in these crowded islands. Possibly that is the case. But if it has grown to a more commanding height there than it has yet reached here, I do not think the result is to be accounted for by saying that the churches are more in earnest there than here, or that American society is more saturated with conscientiousness or has greater sobriety of mind than yours. I make no such arrogant or futile claim. But it is to be claimed that Americans would suffer more under intemperance among voters, and especially in great cities, than you would suffer, because we have extended the franchise further than you have done. It is not unlimited with us, but it is very extensive, and we have built this house of civil liberty so far up that we perceive with distinctness the peril of falling over the edge of it, and so we feel convinced that we must erect a battlement to preserve us from blood-guiltiness. That battlement we find in the temperance cause. National safety under universal suffrage depends on the two great provisions referred

to in these parallel texts, a nation of abstainers — a priesthood of abstainers.

All this, you say, is good sense concerning America, with her advanced use of free suffrage. You admit that it is beyond dispute that, under the institutions which prevail on the other side of the Atlantic, an intemperate voting class cannot be endured. You say you can understand very well why it is that popular sentiment is so emphatic in this matter beyond the sea. American church members in the Northern States do not easily excuse a young man in the pulpit who drinks wine. When a young man is passing through a course of theological study, and is about to enter the ministry, and is known to carry the Bible in one hand and a wine-glass habitually used in the other, we are apt to refuse him support. We are not equally cautious concerning an old man in the pulpit, but there are so many young men coming forward with correct habits that we feel that it would be flying in the face of Providence to take a man with incorrect habits and place him before the people as a leader. Public sentiment is stern on the other side of the Atlantic as to moderate drinking amongst ministers. I think I have never heard of a minister falling through intemperance. I never heard of an American theological professor being deposed from his chair for intemperance. I never knew any church member who was guilty of open or secret habits of intemperance. In the Northern States of the American Union we do not count the preachers who are total abstainers, but those who are not.

You have been told over and over again that the lady who was the wife of the late President in America turned the wine-glass upside down in the White House. In that act she had the support of the best portion of public sentiment in the United States. You have heard of a general who led the armies of the North in the Civil War who had been intemperate, but who became a total abstainer, and who to-day in all companies turns the wine-glass upside down. These are characteristic examples of American public sentiment. You have heard of license laws carried up into laws of local option; you have heard of prohibitory laws on the other side of the Atlantic; you have heard of constitutional prohibition there. Why do I mention these things? Simply to show what a deep undercurrent of fear and anxiety there is in the new house built beyond the sea as to the battlement at the edge of the roof. We are convinced that immense political dangers must arise in an intemperate voting population. Give the ballot to Whitechapel and Seven Dials, and ask how you will feel about the cause of temperance. Let the slums of London vote as those of New York do, — let the government of London come under the control of the supporters of the liquor traffic as often as that of New York has done, — let this city suffer as much in her municipal institutions from the effects of intemperance as New York has done, and I believe you will have temperance sentiment here even stronger than ours. It is because you have not extended the suffrage as far as we have done that you do not feel the terror which we feel on the

other side of the Atlantic in view of intemperance among the masses.

Although it is clear that America cannot maintain her institutions peacefully unless she is very stern concerning intemperance, you do not perceive that you are in a similar case. I am anxious to make here this afternoon an appeal that will go to the hearts of men of business. I am anxious to make this topic seem of practical urgency to Britons. One of the first things an American asks when he goes abroad is, How far are the people allowed to protect their own interests by representative institutions? The broad fact is that most of the Lower Houses in the Parliamentary bodies of Western Europe are elected by the people. I will not discuss your Upper Houses, and other hereditary bodies. Your Lower Houses of legislation are very many of them representative institutions, and the question is, whether you can bear to have an intemperate voting class in London, in Paris, in Berlin, or any other large cities. I took pains to inform myself the other day as to the condition of the Lower Chambers, and here are some facts which show the need of a battlement around the wall of the new house which Europe is building.

Who are they that elect the Lower Chamber in France? The citizens of the age of twenty-one. Who are the electors of the Lower House in Austria? Citizens of twenty-one with a small property qualification. Who in Prussia? Citizens of twenty-five, classed according to taxation. In Germany, in the individual States, what determines the composition of the Lower Chambers? Universal suffrage.

In Great Britain? In towns the householders who pay poor rates, or in counties tenants who pay a rental of £12. In Italy? The citizens of twenty-five who pay £1 12s. in direct taxes. In Greece? Manhood suffrage. In Portugal? Citizens having an income of £22. In the Netherlands? Citizens who pay £1 12s. in direct taxes. In Switzerland? Males of twenty. In Sweden? Citizens of twenty-one with a property qualification of £56. Do you need the battlement around your new house?

You say I have no right to introduce these topics here? I am preaching from my text, and I tell you as Britons, as I would tell Norwegians, or Swedes, or Greeks, or Frenchmen, or Swiss, or Germans, that the day is coming in the progress of civilization when you cannot afford to have an intemperate voting class electing your Lower Houses of legislation. Civilization is building a new house, and although I am not discussing here and now the structure of your Upper Houses at all, — it may be ages and ages before you change them, — still you believe in Lower Houses grounded essentially on the votes of the people. You will come ultimately, I venture to predict, to the American sensitiveness in this matter of intemperance among people who possess political power. You will do this as a matter of social and civil prudence. You will be forced into it as a question touching your purses and throats. The day is coming that will move the foundations of many of our present political arrangements out of their places. The time has arrived when it ought to be proclaimed that the minister who is a moderate drinker, the church mem-

ber who is a moderate drinker, the professor of theology, or any conscientious person who sets a wrong example in this matter, is hindering the formation of sound public sentiment such as is required to secure the building of the battlement which is absolutely necessary to preserve the new house of civilization from blood-guiltiness.

There is nothing that prevents the formation of a righteous public sentiment on the matter of intemperance so much as the example of the educated and the conscientious class. My appeal is to this class, and I proclaim, in the name of the blood-guiltiness we are likely to incur without this battlement on our new home, the necessity of building the battlement. It may appear strange to you that on God's holy day I preach these truths, and bring a subject of this kind before the people. But I think it is high time this topic should be taken into the closets of Europe as I know it has been taken again and again into the places of secret prayer in America. Britons will respect my appeal on this point, because if there is anything the British race loves it is representative institutions. It is in your blood to love them. You are likely by and by to be thrown into the position of Americans, and find that the friends of representative institutions must either throttle their love of strong drink or their love of freedom. That is exactly the case on the other side of the Atlantic.

Send up a balloon from Hyde Park on a clear day, and with a strong glass you may see the homes of four or five millions of men. Send up a balloon from the Central Park in New York city when the atmos-

phere is clear, and the telescope will show you the daily haunts of two or three millions of men. Modern populations are massing themselves in cities. The misgovernment of great towns under representative institutions is a proverb. The faster cities grow the more rapidly do they increase the need of this battlement around the edge of the roof of our new house. But it is a fact that on both sides of the sea the cities are growing faster than the rest of the population. London increases faster than England, Berlin than Germany, and Paris than France; as well as New York city than the State of New York, Boston than the State of Massachusetts, and Chicago than the State of Illinois. In the United States we had only one twenty-fifth of our population in cities in 1800. Now we have more than one fifth. Some of your statesmen look across the Atlantic, and say that there is not one American city of over 200,000 population that is well governed. I repel that accusation. Nevertheless, there is too much ground for it. We are troubled by an ignorant and intemperate class, derived largely from immigration from all lands. We have learned that we must educate them, and make them sober, and that otherwise in great cities our form of government will be a farce. In Great Britain you will ultimately find trouble in managing your cities, unless you reform the perishing and dangerous population. Let Socialism raise a great conflagration on the Continent; let Communism and Nihilism acquire any large degrees of political power beyond this little thread of water you call the Straits of Dover; and,

although I believe that the British workingman is one of the most sensible of human beings, and one of the most loyal, I fear that some spark from the Continental conflagration might start an unpleasant flame on this side of the Channel in your crowded great cities. If a preacher is to be effective in reforming the slums, he must go down into them, as Guthrie went into the Cowgate in Edinburgh, a total abstainer. If you do not awaken to the cause of temperance in its depth and height, you will have political trouble here, and America will be only one step in advance of you in walking into the perils of the extension of the suffrage to an intemperate population. I am endeavoring to touch a topic not often discussed. This relation of the battlement to the roof of the new house has never been enough emphasized in the discussion of my theme. Cities are growing in size, and with all their growth increase the difficulty and the importance of governing rightly the dangerous classes. Such government is impossible while moderate drinking is maintained among the leaders of the best portion of public thought and action, and while the Church is inactive on this matter, and while social sentiment rests in a luxurious calm amongst the more dignified and educated circles. In the name of their most sacred duties to society, my appeal is to the conscientious and intelligent to build a temperance battlement around the edge of the new house of civil liberty, lest we have blood-guiltiness brought upon the mansion.

The pillar of fire was a temperance leader. Is there any other leader that can guide us safely

through the perils of popular self-government? To what did this pillar of fire lead? To a nation of total abstainers; to a priesthood of total abstainers. God's chosen people, when under his special care, were trained in the practice of total abstinence. Furnished by the Divine Hand with all they needed, they drank, during forty years, no strong drink nor wine. They were settled in Canaan as a nation of abstainers, numbering not less than three millions (Deut. xxix. 6). Their priesthood was to be made up exclusively of total abstainers. We are convinced in America that God's model for this ancient commonwealth is the only safe model for a modern commonwealth under representative institutions. *Deum sequi*, to follow God, said Seneca, is the height of political wisdom. If we are to be followers of the most significant voices of Providence in our hazardous time, we must take upon ourselves the duty of building a battlement around the roof of the new house civilization is constructing, otherwise it is impossible to avoid blood-guiltiness.

Is there anything in the Bible to overturn the two great principles recognized by the ideal commonwealth of old, that the people are to be total abstainers, and that they should be led by a priesthood of total abstainers? The ministry is substantially sound on this theme. I need not appeal to preachers, for they know both sides of the subject. They know that there are two sets of interpreters of certain passages as to the miracle at Cana, and the use of wine by our Lord. This I claim, that our Lord was consistent with himself; that his practice was in har-

mony with his principles ; and that his morality was at least as high as that of the Book of Proverbs. Whether you say this or the other thing concerning minute matters of textual criticism, you are uttering blasphemy if you affirm that Christ, after reading the command, "Look not thou upon the wine when it is red, when it giveth his color in the cup, when it moveth itself aright," created wine of that sort and gave it to guests who had been already several days drinking intoxicating wine. Christ was in all things obedient to his Father, and therefore must be supposed to have yielded glad, affectionate obedience to the commands implied in the divine warnings of the Scriptures concerning wine. Our Lord was loyal to the Old Testament, which was his Bible. My contention is that there is no proof that Christ put the dangerously intoxicating bottle to his neighbor's lips. There is fatal inconsistency in any other interpretation of the Bible. I maintain, without fear of contradiction, that there is nothing in the example of our Lord to justify our modern social drinking customs.

Remember that distilled liquors were practically unknown until the year 1150. The process of distillation came into Europe at that date from the Moors. If you were to sweep wholly out of existence all distilled liquors, you would bring the world into something of the condition in which it stood during the time of our Saviour. The absence of distilled liquors would make the more terrible forms of drunkenness and alcoholic disease impossible. It was against the lighter drunkenness of a world which

had in it no distilled liquors that the fearful biblical denunciations of drunkenness were launched. The Bible denounces wine as a mocker, and proclaims that the weak strong-drink of ancient times at the last biteth like a serpent and stingeth like an adder. What would it say of the fierce and poisoned potations of our days? Our race has been tempted more by intemperance than were the races to which our Saviour directly spoke in Palestine. Mr. Gladstone has said that the German and English speaking races have suffered more from intemperance than from war, pestilence, and famine. Frenchmen have not suffered as much; Italians have not suffered as much. Mahomet made a whole nation total abstainers. The weak-kneed Oriental has suffered less from intemperance than we have. It is true our homes have been measurably free from polygamy: when barbarians, we were exceptionally pure in our social life; but from of old we have been given to carousal; from of old our weak point has been the love of strong drink.

The question is whether, if our Lord were living to-day, with these accursed modern drinking customs, with these brandied wines, with these distilled liquors, with these inherited evil appetites in existence around Him, He would find himself correctly or incorrectly represented by those who say that his example justifies them in moderate drinking. He drank no distilled liquors, for in his day there were none in existence. I hold that He drank no dangerously intoxicating wines. What He drank was, very probably, — perhaps we cannot settle the point beyond

all dispute, — simply that lightest kind of wine which the East to this day, in many portions of it, calls by the names of superlative praise, that finest kind of the fruit of the grape that is practically not intoxicating. It is not necessary for me to maintain that in every case it was strictly non-alcoholic; but it may have been so. I beg you to give yourselves personal experience in support of the proposition that unfermented wine is a fact. Go to your own shops in London, and you can have such wine to-day. You say that the juice of the grape cannot be kept unfermented any length of time. That is a popular error. Your own Dr. Norman Kerr affirms that he has kept it in his own house two, three, and four days absolutely unfermented. He tells you that he drinks unfermented wine brought from the East. I know where in London to buy that kind of wine. What is more, I know from some observation in the East, and from much study of the best authorities, that many Syrian churches to-day use that kind of wine in their religious feasts. In the chief London factory of unfermented wine, the practical chemist in charge of the establishment explained to me his process, and quoted to me Columella's and Pliny's receipts for preserving wine unfermented, and assured me that he could not improve these ancient directions in point of efficacy. Dr. Kerr has shown that wine may be preserved unfermented by eight or ten different methods, many of which were known to the ancients.¹

Please notice that I do not make this topic of un-

¹ See *Unfermented Wine, a Fact*, by Norman Kerr, M. D.

fermented wine a necessary part of the temperance question. Far be it from me to say that the temperance cause must have all these details in it, and that otherwise it does not deserve our support. I shall be thankful if you will support temperance aside from abstinence; but when you misinterpret the example of our Lord you hinder the effect of my appeal to the intelligent and conscientious. When you tell me that He drank the fruit of the vine, and that therefore you may drink our modern wines, I must ask you to notice that your position amounts very nearly to exegetical lunacy. It never has been proved that our Lord's wine, made at Cana, or the wine He drank himself, was anything nearly as dangerous as the wines you drink. I will go further and say that, in my opinion, which I do not ask you to accept, it never has been proved that the wine our Lord made at Cana and the wine He drank were not like the wine we suppose He used in instituting the Lord's Supper — this best kind, this delicate kind, this unfermented wine, which is used at this hour, and can be bought in your own city at the present day. There are far more arguments on this side of the question than many of you may suppose who have not read the recent literature on this topic.¹

My position is not that of Dr. Lees. I do not defend the theory that there are two kinds of wines mentioned in Scripture, one alcoholic and the other

¹ See Fairbairn's *Imperial Bible Dictionary*, Prof. Douglass, art. "Wine." Also, Pearson's *The Bible and Temperance*, and Canon Hopkins, *Holy Scripture and Temperance*, London, 1879.

absolutely unfermented and strictly non-alcoholic. I make a distinction between strictly non-alcoholic and practically non-intoxicating wines. I affirm that there is no proof that our Lord looked with desire, as you do, upon the wine when red, or that He drank wine that was dangerously intoxicating; and that it is blasphemy on your part to call Him a wine-bibber in serious earnest, as the Jews did when they slandered Him. John came neither eating nor drinking, and it was said of him, "He hath a devil." Our Lord came eating and drinking, and it was said, "Behold a wine-bibber and a gluttonous man." Now, I hold you have no more right to call our Lord a gluttonous man than you have to call Him a wine-bibber, and no more right to call Him a wine-bibber than you have to call Him a gluttonous man. It is the repetition of slander to call Him either of these things. We have no more right to infer that John had a devil from what was said of him, than to make any other audacious departure from common sense. But we have as much right to say that as to say that our Lord approached the edge of intoxication because He was called a wine-bibber. There is high authority among scholars of the first rank for the assertion that at the Passover the wine used was non-intoxicating, and that our Lord instituted the Supper with such wine.¹ More than 1,500 British churches now employ unfermented wine in their administration of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper. In regard to the miracle at Cana, and the origin of the Lord's Supper, it is certain that the abstainer has as much to stand

¹ *Encyc. Brit.*, 8th ed., art. "Passover."

on in the personal example of our Lord as the moderate drinker.

Without claiming that the Bible absolutely settles the question as to the point I am discussing, I do claim that you have not proved, if you are a moderate drinker, that it settles the question on your side. You are far from showing that there is anything in the example of our Lord giving the remotest justification to your use of distilled liquors and brandied wines. I am grieved with an indignation which I dare not express to the full when I hear preachers and church members quoting the example of our Lord in support of the use of distilled liquors, which were not invented until the twelfth century. If our Lord were in London or New York to-day, face to face with our present drinking customs; if He were here in person as He is in spirit, listening to the cries of orphans and widows; if He could see how the best portions of our civilization are imperilled by those who fleece the poor and sell to them strong drink, I believe, on my soul, that He would again, as He did of old, knot up the whip of small cords, and purge the Church — shall I say from thieves? Yes, I will apply that term to the whiskey-ring. He would purge the Church of moderate drinking, and in doing that He would only be giving efficacy to the texts: "It is good neither to eat flesh, nor to drink wine, nor anything whereby thy brother stumbleth, or is offended, or is made weak;" "Lead us not into temptation;" "Have no fellowship with the unfruitful works of darkness;" "Do not drink wine, that ye may put difference between holy and un-

holy ;” “ If meat maketh my brother to offend, I will eat no meat while the world standeth.” He would knot up his whip of small cords, and use them in the name of those secular principles to which I have appealed, — the necessity of temperance as a battlement to keep blood-guiltiness from the roof of the new house civilization is building in giving large and sometimes unlimited political power to the people.

Do you say that I am declaiming now, and leaving the ground of hard, stern facts? Allow me to go back for an instant to something modern. How many of your life assurance societies will permit you, as a moderate drinker, to be insured on the same basis as a total abstainer? This is a practical question. Since I came to England I have been studying the history of some of your life assurance societies, and I hold in my hand literal extracts from their own documents, — not temperance publications at all; and the great outcome of the experience of these societies recorded in these official statements is that the total abstainer is paid from 7 or 10 up to 17 and 23 per cent. bonus over and above the moderate drinker. That is an actual result; that is not the fancy of sentimentalism; that is a broad, indisputable fact which Britons ought to respect as the result of experience. Not long ago one of the assurance societies was addressed on this point, and made, through its secretary, the following statements in a letter of which the original is in my possession: “ During the past sixteen years we have issued 9,345 policies on the lives of non-abstainers, but we are careful to exclude any who are not strictly temperate,

and 3,396 on the lives of abstainers; 524 of the former have died, but 91 only of the latter, or less than half the proportionate number, which, of course, is 190." Less than half the number of abstainers have died compared with the number that have died among non-abstainers who were strictly temperate; and this is an experience of sixteen years.¹

Are life assurance societies to be allowed to go beyond the Church in their regard for the health of men in body and soul? It is to be remembered that many whose lives are assured as those of total abstainers were not always abstinent. The contrasted figures will grow yet more striking when the abstainers are such from birth. These societies are not governed according to biblical rules; they are not governed by this or that theory in science. Theirs is stern common sense applied to a selfish problem, and the outcome of it, under long experience, is like a peal of thunder from Sinai. It is high time for the pulpit, it is high time for the pew, it is high time for young men to arouse themselves when such are the signs of the times in secular societies. Here is the lowest portion of the sea rising in a tide that kisses the Alps.

The Church of England Temperance Society is organized on a double basis. It says it puts no social distinction between the abstainer and the merely temperate man. But what does it do when it organizes a rescue section? I am informed that the Church of England Temperance Society, when it calls men to

¹ See extracts in full, with names and addresses of assurance societies, in the *Temperance Record* for April 28.

go into the slums and reach the degraded, acts on the principle that we cannot well smite with vigor that with which we fraternize. Only total abstainers are put into the rescue section of the Church of England Temperance Society. The pledge of total abstinence this conservative society requires for the intemperate; the pledge of total abstinence it requires for the young. The Church of England Temperance Society is not a sentimental body. It is not made up of men who are usually led astray by fancy. I presume you have a general respect for the sobriety of mind of the managers of that temperance organization. It is true, I should never personally arrange a temperance society with a double basis; I must say I do not quite believe in that method of conducting temperance societies. But this society, conservative enough to be on a double basis, is yet shrewd enough to put into its rescue section only total abstainers, and to require total abstinence for the intemperate and for the young. What I claim in the name of my text, and also in the name of the perils of this new house and its lofty roof, is that all ministers should belong to the rescue section of temperance societies. I claim that every teacher in a Sunday-school, every legislator, every judge, every father, every mother, every man or woman or child who has named the name of Christ, should belong to the rescue section of society. Here is this sober, conservative body of men proclaiming that, without total abstinence in those who go among the perishing and degraded, they cannot obtain a proper hearing. What do they say except what

God of old said to Aaron? "Do not drink any strong drink, or even wine, in order that you may effectually teach the commands of Almighty God."

Lord Jeffrey was once visited by Thomas Guthrie, and noticed that the latter took no wine. Guthrie explained that he could not get a hearing in the Cowgate of Edinburgh if he went as a moderate drinker to those who were in their cups. Lord Jeffrey instantly recognized the nobleness of this plea. He saw that Guthrie stood on the principle of philanthropic prudence, expediency, and self-sacrifice: "If meat maketh my brother to offend, I will eat no meat while the world standeth." Notice, I am using that principle under certain qualifications. I am not admitting that alcohol is meat; but even if it were, I should still hold that this divine rule applies to it, if it prevented my reaching the poor and degraded. Lord Jeffrey treated Guthrie with honor, because he saw him standing as a hard-working reformer on the only practical and consistent basis of the temperance reform.

Take the wisdom of politics, the wisdom of science, the wisdom of the Scriptures, and join them in one beam of light, and let it smite through and through you while you look into the face of your crucified Lord. Of what are we dreaming that we can behold his wounds and not be willing to give up our little personal indulgences in order to increase our usefulness with the degraded? Every church has opportunity of reaching many families which have been afflicted by intemperance; every church ought to draw into it the intemperate. What if the intem-

perate man comes into God's house, and finds the pew setting the example of moderate drinking? Is that safe? Is that consistency? It is an unpopular doctrine that I am teaching, I know well; but I have taught it in fashionable churches in Boston and New York, and I do not know that I was ever criticised on the other side of the Atlantic for proclaiming unflinchingly the impolicy of setting from the pulpit to the reformed drunkard in the pew the example of moderate drinking. I must not flinch here from the principles I have maintained yonder, and I proclaim here, as I proclaimed there, that when a reformed drunkard sits down in a pew and finds his neighboring church member a moderate drinker, or at his pastor's table and has wine offered to him there, the struggling converted inebriate has not come into a place of safety; the Church is not a fold that is securing him from the wolves; it is not a place where he can repose. But I believe my Lord's bosom is such a place. Although you may blaspheme Him by talking of the wine that He made at Cana, and wine that He drank, I will go to Him, and I will say, I do not believe He ever put the bottle to his neighbor's lips in a way that could intoxicate him. I do not believe He looked on wine when it was red. I will find safety in his bosom, and I will proclaim the necessity of the reformation of the Church until safety can be found within it as his representative. Safety for the reformed inebriate and for the young can never be attained while we admit moderate drinking into the pulpit or into the pew.

A distinguished divine from New York came lately

to Boston and assailed total abstinence, and he did so in the name of the Bible. He has been most effectually answered. His "calm view of temperance" turned out to be a calm before the storm. Since his reactionary argument was delivered, Massachusetts temperance societies have exhibited an unwonted activity, and the State has passed a new and severe temperance enactment. Six hundred ministers recently assembled in Boston in a convention intended to inaugurate a movement in favor of Constitutional Prohibition. "While carrying the war into Africa, this belated reformer," says the chairman of the committee under whose auspices he spoke, "stood among his hearers as a solitary sentinel, pacing round the deserted citadel of his own opinions." A brewer of Cincinnati ordered two hundred and fifty copies of the lecture. One million copies of it are announced as for sale by a brewers' newspaper in Chicago. Its author's health was toasted in the dram-shops. Mr. Phillips, our most distinguished anti-slavery reformer, often reminds the people of New England that when slavery was first discussed in the United States the Bible was quoted in support of it. But we have looked into that matter. No doubt slavery is described in the Bible; no doubt one or two forms of it were in various ways hedged about, so that, though allowed to live for a while, they fell at last. But chattel slavery, that colossal curse of my native land, I hold the Bible does not justify. Nevertheless, we had the Bible thrown in the face of the anti-slavery reform at first. Wait a little and we shall by and by have the Bible used to

support the temperance cause, and no longer thrown in the face of progress. The theory that the Bible speaks with approbation of intoxicating drinks makes the Scriptures contradict themselves, and so violates the first principle of a sound interpretation of the Sacred Word. Mr. Phillips tells us that Mr. Wade, of Ohio, who was once an infidel, was asked to be president of a society the object of which was to show that the Bible supports slavery. "I will do so," said he; "I will be president; but suppose that we prove that the Bible supports slavery, people will ask, 'What is the good of such a Bible?' and in answering that question I can be of no help at all." Suppose that we prove that the Bible justifies moderate drinking, what is the good of such a Bible? Face to face with the facts of our social condition, of our scientific research, and of our church life, what is the good of a Bible which increases rather than diminishes our temptation?

The revered pastor of this church teaches more men on the other side of the Atlantic than on this side. At least twenty or twenty-five years ago I used to hang in rapture over his discourses, as published in America, when he was a youth in London. Fifty millions of people on the other side of the Atlantic, thirty-five or thirty-eight millions here, — his influence yonder I hold to be as great as his influence here. Consider what good is done by his example of abstinence. Consider how many are strengthened in an unpopular cause by his stalwartness as he stands here and proclaims his reverence for abstinence as a principle, justified by the great law of

self-sacrifice. Whether he would agree with me in the interpretation of these texts I do not know, and I do not ask. It is not necessary for me to suppose that he would. I do not know that he would disagree; but this I know, that the principle of self-sacrifice, the necessity of avoiding blood-guiltiness, the great inculcation of the central text, that it is good to do nothing by which our brother stumbleth, he recommends to himself and through himself to the world. His responsibility he measures by God's great law of self-sacrifice, and so would I have every minister and every one who teaches God's truth measure their responsibilities in religion, in politics, and in social life.

Many abstainers are found among preachers, and are yet not chronicled in temperance statistics. But the Church of England is known to have already 3,000 abstaining clergymen. The Baptists in England and Wales have 510 abstaining ministers, and the Congregationalists, 824. A great majority of the preachers among the Friends are total abstainers. The Calvinistic Methodists of Wales, with few exceptions, are total abstainers. A large majority of the preachers of the United Methodist Free Churches abstain wholly. Half the Wesleyan ministers in England and Wales are abstainers. The number of abstaining ministers in the Church of Scotland is 200; in the Free Church of Scotland, 300; in the United Presbyterian Church, 220. Lord Bacon said the opinions and practices of young men are the best materials for prophecy. In these islands, it is very significant that abstinence is becoming the rule with candidates for the preacher's holy calling. All the

students of the Methodist New Connection are abstainers. In Cheshunt, Hackney, Lancashire, New and Spring Hill Congregational Theological Colleges, there are 192 students, of whom 136 are abstainers.

There is one perfectly sure remedy for intemperance, and that is total abstinence. There is no sure remedy except that, and what I will not recommend to myself I will not recommend to others. I have been a total abstainer from birth. I rejoice that I was early taught to abhor even moderate drinking, and that what I suppose to be sound principles as to temperance were inculcated upon me from the very outset of my preferences as a child. Let us bring up our offspring by our example as well as by our precept. Let us set in our households such a blazing light before our children that when they come into the temptations of great cities they shall be strong in advance of their period of trial. Let us put the school and the press on the right side. Let us make the Church a great pillar of fire, through which God can look in the morning watch of better ages to come, and trouble the hosts of his enemies, and take off their chariot-wheels.

When we see the Cross of Christ vividly we are sure to be melted; when we are melted we are sure so to pity our erring brothers as to be anxious to purge the Church of the sins which make even God's house other than a place of refuge for the reformed inebriate. When we thus purge the Church we shall purge the parlor, we shall purge the press, we shall purge our statute books, and deliver civilization from a curse which has gnawed our vitals more deeply than war, or pestilence, or famine.

APPENDIX IV.

REPLY TO PROFESSOR SMYTH, OF ANDOVER,
FEBRUARY 12.

SHALL ORTHODOXY BECOME SEMI-UNIVERSALIST?

PROFESSOR SMYTH is a gentleman in a most influential position, and has the respect of all New England for his scholarship and piety. He was my teacher, not in dogmatic theology, for that is not his specialty, but in ecclesiastical history. He is the brother of the Rev. Dr. Newman Smyth, of New Haven, Connecticut. I do not know that Professor Smyth wrote the series of questions I am about to answer. The rumor is, that two or three hands were employed in their preparation; but Professor Smyth says that he is responsible for them. In a note, over his own name, in the Boston "Daily Advertiser" of January 24, he calls my attention to a series of questions published in that paper January 13, and especially to a series published January 20, and adds: "For that, with the first, I am responsible."

My thesis, which is quoted in the communication to the Boston "Daily Advertiser" of January 13, is proposition fifteen in my prelude of January 8: "Every responsible human being, by the gift of a

free will and a conscience, or by this gift and that of the knowledge of the gospel besides, having had a fair chance or more than a fair chance, the Divine love and mercy are not questionable; a perfect Theodicy is possible; the ways of God to men are justified." Upon this Professor Smyth asks a series of questions, which I now read, one by one, from his printed copy, and answer:—

1. "What part is assigned to Christianity in this Theodicy?"

The same as in the Theodicy of Leibnitz, or Julius Müller, or Jonathan Edwards, or N. W. Taylor, or Professor Park, or Professor Fisher. A Theodicy is a vindication of the Divine justice in ordaining or permitting natural and moral evil. To vindicate the Divine love and mercy is more than to vindicate merely the Divine justice. Christianity does the former, and so, of course, it does the latter. Christianity shows that the Divine love and mercy are not questionable, for it exhibits a Divine atonement which provides opportunity of pardon for all men whose repentance is genuine, and this provision is itself such an exhibition of the Divine perfections as to be the most powerful motive to repentance. Making the readiness of God to do more than justice requires thus evident, Christianity makes his readiness to do what justice alone requires super-abundantly evident.

2. "Does the phrase 'fair chance' cover anything besides conscience and freedom?"

Intelligence, with social and moral appetencies and affections, or the moral equipment of a human

soul in a state of sanity, go with freedom and conscience, and so, too, in average cases, the light of nature and experience. "The Gentiles having not the law, do by nature the things contained in the law. These, having not the law, are a law unto themselves, their consciences bearing witness." "As many as have sinned without law shall also perish without law." (Rom. xi.) "For the wrath of God is revealed from heaven against all ungodliness and unrighteousness of men who hold the truth in unrighteousness." "Because that which may be known of God is manifest in them, for God hath showed it unto them. The invisible things of Him from the creation of the world are *clearly* seen, being understood by the things that are made, even his eternal power and Godhead, so that they are without excuse." (Rom. i.) The Scriptures teach unqualifiedly that all responsible beings, whether they have received the written law or heard of the historic Christ of revelation or not, have had a fair chance. *My definition of a fair chance is the biblical one in all its details. The fundamental vice of Dörner's eschatology is that it underrates conscience, belittles the majesty of the human faculties, and of the moral law revealed to all men through nature, and fails to point out with any adequate emphasis the awfulness of the responsibility which is laid on the soul by that law alone.* His definition of a fair chance is, therefore, at once unscientific and anti-scriptural, and this is the *fons et origo* of the mischiefs of his teaching in eschatology.

3. "Does it refer to the possibility of avoiding

sin, or to the opportunity of recovery from sin? To the action of a moral agent *per se* or to the recovery of a prodigal son?"

To both.

4. "If to the former, does not this possibility continue after death?"

The mere *possibility* does, for freedom continues; but to prove that the soul *may* repent after death is not to prove that it *will*. May and will, certainty and necessity, ability to repent and willingness to repent, must be distinguished from each other most carefully at every point in the discussion of eschatology on grounds of reason. On grounds of Scripture, I hold that the exegetical researches of centuries have justified the orthodox opinion that probation in its strict sense ends at death.

5. "If the latter, does not this opportunity include supernatural agency?"

Yes, for it includes provision for deliverance in this life from the guilt of past sin.

6. "Do the words 'more than a fair chance' refer to a legal or a redemptive system?"

To a redemptive system, in the sense of one including the influences of the atonement.

7. "If the latter, is not this system universal as respects the human race?"

Atonement is universal; redemption is limited. The question seems to confuse atonement, or the provision on God's part for man's pardon on certain conditions, with redemption, or the acceptance of those conditions on man's part. If the question means: Has not the atonement made possible the

pardon of the sins of the whole race? it is to be answered in the affirmative.

8. "If it is universal, do not the heathen have 'more than a fair chance'?"

Yes, in some sense, though not in the full sense. Their pardon is provided for on the basis of the atonement, provided they really follow and love all the light they have. "In every nation he that feareth God and worketh righteousness is accepted of Him," but through an atonement. The heathen live unconsciously under a system of grace.

9. "Is 'a perfect Theodicy,' as respects God's 'love and mercy,' possible, except on the basis of a remedial system?"

A perfect Theodicy is possible without an atonement. It is a first principle of New England theology that the vindication of the justice of God does not depend on his providing an atonement. He is not obliged either to atone for or to redeem men, in order that He may prove himself just. He would be just even if He punished all men as they deserve. The question is ambiguous, for it is not clear what the writer means by a remedial system. If he means a redemptive system, including an atonement, the answer is in the affirmative. Perhaps the writer means to imply that it is impossible to justify God in permitting or ordaining moral or natural evil, unless atonement or redemption be general.

A remedial system of a certain breadth is involved in the divine government of the universe according to natural law. If only this remedial system existed, the divine justice would not be questionable, nor

would the divine love and mercy. The best pagan philosophy — as that of Plato, Seneca, Marcus Aurelius, and Epictetus — supports this proposition; and so does the Old Testament theology, as that of Job and Psalms. God's superabundant love and mercy are fully exhibited, however, only by the remedial system revealed by Christianity.

10. "Is it possible on the basis of a limited atonement?"

Atonement is general; redemption is particular. The atonement is not limited. It is possible, however, without any atonement, to vindicate God's love and mercy, as the apostle does in Acts xiv. 15-18. Redemption is limited solely by man's own choice. If this question is not a confused one, it points toward Universalism, for it suggests the idea that it is impossible for God to be just without making an atonement.

11. "Is it possible on the basis of an equally limited operation of the Spirit?"

The gift of the Spirit in converting power is an act of grace, and not of justice. But the influences of the Spirit are given in some measure to all responsible human agents, and if these influences are followed, a greater measure is given. All who have conscience have the general influence of the Spirit; and all who yield utterly and gladly to the guidance of the innermost voice of conscience may expect the special influences of the Spirit.

12. "If 'it is the sight of an atonement which is the chief force in producing the new birth' (*Prop.* 10), and if probation for all ends at death (*Prop.*

14), how are 'God's love and mercy' vindicated in view of the fact that thus far the vast majority of the human race have had no such vision in this life?"

This question is answered by the replies already given to questions two, seven, eight, and nine. God is under obligation to give all men a fair chance, but not to give all or any more than a fair chance. God's love and mercy are vindicated by the Scriptures, on grounds which apply to all who have merely the light of conscience, nature, and experience.

13. "When it is said 'Whoever permanently rejects . . . the innermost voice of conscience rejects . . . the essential Christ (*Prop. 1*), what is the force of the word 'permanently'? Does it refer to an outward fact, a change produced by physical death, or to a moral change? Is the first act of moral agency decisive for eternity, if death immediately intervenes?"

Whoever rejects the truth as revealed by conscience and the Holy Spirit, acting through the moral sense, and does not repent of his rejection; this is the meaning of the word permanently. It refers to a moral change, and its consequences under the systems of both law and grace.

The soul that decides once against God continues to be against God until it repents. The Scriptures hold out no offer of grace after death. A soul that does not repent before death, nor in death, of the one evil choice here in question, is losing its day of grace. "He that offendeth in one point is guilty of all." This is both a scientific and a biblical truth.

14. "In such a case, is the permanence arbitrary or rational?"

Rational, of course, for there is nothing arbitrary in the divine, natural, or supernatural dealings with the soul. There is a probation before death and there is a probation at death, and it is rational to expect that he who passes both these without repentance will never repent.

15. "If arbitrary, how is this fact consistent with 'a perfect Theodicy'?"

Nothing connected with the salvation or perdition of the soul is arbitrary.

16. "If rational, how under the conditions of moral agency (which include free personality) is a permanent moral state produced by physical death?"

No permanent moral state is produced by death, considered merely as a physical change.

17. "Or is the permanence, in case of a wrong choice, due to this choice, *plus* the withdrawal of supernatural aid?"

The permanence of an evil moral choice rests on the choice itself, after death, as well as before. But after death the permanence is reinforced by the withdrawal of such supernatural aid and opportunities of grace as are given to men during life. The fact of such withdrawal is a revealed truth.

18. "If so, how is the provision of a universal atonement harmonized with a use of it limited, so far, to but a small fraction of the human race?"

The limitation of the use of the atonement is wholly due to man's evil choice not to repent. How is the provision for science harmonized with the ignorance of men?

19. "How does a Theodicy which is compelled to assert such a withdrawal from many millions of human beings *justify* 'divine love and mercy' and 'the ways of God to men'?"

By showing that God gives to all men a fair chance or more than a fair chance. He does all He can wisely do for every soul without destroying its free will, and judges every soul according to its use of its opportunities. What God does not do could not be wisely done by Him.

This question is another instance of confusion of thought, or else it implies that God's love and mercy cannot be justified unless there be a universal redemption, or, at least, a universal atonement. This is a ground principle of Universalism.

20. "If infants are not moral agents (*Prop. 13*), on what ground is it 'to be hoped that in death, at the sight of God's face, they will acquire entire harmony of the soul with Him'? (*Prop. 13*.) What reason is there to think that *in articulo mortis* they become moral agents? Is the change from 'not moral agents' to 'moral agents' effected 'in death'? Or is the development after death? If so, what becomes of the universal proposition, 'Probation in its strict sense ends at death'? (*Prop. 14*.) Is more than one half of the human race not under this law? That is, may their probation be after death?"

The least and perhaps all that can be said of those who are not moral agents in this life is, that they are in the hands of the Judge of all the earth, who will assuredly do right. [Applause.] Infants are not moral agents, and therefore have not sinned, and

therefore do not deserve to be punished. As being born with latent evil propensities, they need a Redeemer, and they have one; but in this case there is nothing in the divine justice to prevent our hope. Because infants have not sinned, in the sense of putting forth evil personal choices, we are confident that they are not placed among the wicked after death. It is said of children that of such is the kingdom of heaven, and that in heaven their angels do always behold the face of the Father. Whether their acquisition of entire harmony of soul with God is effected in death or after death, their destiny at death is not to be presumed to be uncertain. *Probation, in its strict sense, implies uncertainty of result. There may be progress and preparation of the souls of infants after death, but not probation in the strict sense.* [Loud applause.]

21. "Does not Mr. Cook look at the whole subject now under a turban, now under a hat; now on the basis of principles of moral agency legally rather than religiously understood, now on the basis of a redemptive system; with an unconscious transition, back and forth, *ad libitum*? Is such a method 'hugely' scientific; or, rather, is it not?"

This is another instance of confused ideas. What is meant by the phrase "legally *rather* than religiously"? God's laws are *all* religious. Now on legal principles, now on the redemptive system? The proposition was: "Every man has a *fair* chance *legally* or *more* than a fair chance *graciously*." The distinction between the two systems is steadily kept in view throughout the discussion.

These twenty-one questions contain nothing formidable [Applause]; but I must now answer seven more, which are published in the "Advertiser" of January 20th.

1. "Does Mr. Cook understand Paul (2 Cor. v. 10) to include under 'things *done* in the body' things done after the breath 'leaves the body'?"

In the experiences of the soul at death occur some of the most important things done in the body. Paul, in the passage referred to, includes them. "Be thou faithful unto death" is a frequent exhortation of the New Testament Scriptures.

2. "Mr. Cook refers to Paul's being 'caught up to the seventh [a slip of the pen] heaven' (the apostle was content to call it the third), and adds: 'The soul, before it is separated from the body, may very probably hear unspeakable things.' Does Mr. Cook think the case analogous? If so, how is he able to transcend the wisdom of the apostle, who said, 'Whether in the body or apart from the body I know not. God knoweth'? Did Mr. Cook get this knowledge, too, 'in being thrown twenty feet down a rocky bank in a sleeping-coach on a swift railway train'?"

Paul's soul, in the experience here narrated, was able to return to his body, and it is to be presumed, therefore, that it was not wholly disconnected with the body at the time of the experience; but, if a nearly total release from the body brought this experience, then a partial release may bring an experience partially like it. The marvellous quickening of memory and conscience, in many cases, in those who are near death or expect instant death, is a fact of

science, *and will not be spoken of lightly by any one who has ever observed it, either in another or in himself.*

3. "Mr. Cook cites Matthew xxv. 43 as confirmatory of his position that men are to be judged for their conduct here, and also of his use of 2 Corinthians v. 10. Does he suppose that the soul, after breath leaves the body, is able, *in the body*, to visit prisoners, feed the hungry, clothe the naked," etc.?

In moral principle, yes; but it must be understood here that the qualifications I have repeatedly insisted on in connection with the case described are all kept in view.

4. "Or, does he suppose that the apostle, in his allusion to things done in the body, may include things done in the 'spiritual body'? If so, how does the text support the proposition that probation ends with death?"

The text is rightly interpreted as referring to deeds done in our present physical bodies, for death is to be defined as the separation of the soul from the physical body.

5. "Mr. Cook deems it 'in the highest degree probable that souls are divinely illuminated by death, and thus are brought to final permanence of character.' He also affirms that 'it is the light of atonement which is the chief force in producing the new birth.' How far is this in principle from Dr. Dorner's position, that final permanence is reached through a decision in view of atoning love?"

Dorner's system of thought supposes that a soul reaches a permanent moral state *only* by a view of

atoning love as seen in an actual presentation of the historic Christ, and by accepting or rejecting this presentation. The seven objections which I have made to this system have been published. [See the New York "Independent," January 18th.] It is one thing to assert that conversion among those to whom the gospel is preached is produced *chiefly* by a view of the atonement, and another to assert that in the case of all human souls, in this life or the next, it is produced *only* by it.

6. "Mr. Cook characterizes Dorner's eschatology as 'bewildering,' 'narrow,' 'reversionary,' and 'hazardous to the souls of men.' Will he explain why it is so much safer to teach a probation after breath than a probation after death? [A full reply to this point had been given in Mr. Cook's remarks before his lecture.] Is an opinion founded on indications of Scripture and on the finality and absoluteness of Christianity, that men who have not rejected God's character and love as revealed in Christ here will have opportunity to come to a final decision, in view of his claims before coming to his bar, likely to produce more painful results than the well-nigh baseless speculation that impenitent men generally may have an opportunity in death and make a final choice, under supernatural light and an 'unutterable series of voices from the seventh heaven'?"

The difference is between the limitation of opportunity to life and death, and its extension to the uncounted ages of an intermediate state between death and the general judgment.

7. "Is this extension of probation by Mr. Cook

anything less than a confession that the old theory with which he starts is moribund and already out of breath? Why does he introduce into the discussion a speculation unsupported by a single text of Scripture and peculiarly liable to perversion? It is because he would hold on to a transient, perishing formula, indigenous to theology and not to Scripture, and yet would not and cannot resist the pressure of principles which transcend it. To Mr. Cook, as well as to Dr. Dorner, it seems congruous with Christianity and with reason that probation be defined in the sphere of character. An arbitrary limit is unlikely, and requires for its acceptance the clearest proof. Mr. Cook realizes this, and so would put into death all the powers of the world to come, all the regenerating forces of the gospel. The attempt is a flag of distress."

I have not extended the period of probation beyond death, and so have not exceeded the limit of the Scripture as interpreted by orthodoxy. I have exhibited simply the solemnity of death in many average cases, and the results which must be expected to follow under natural law from resisting the voices of conscience when it is aroused by the king of terrors.

As to these questions in general, it is to be noticed that:—

1. They frequently confuse together atonement and redemption.

2. They confuse distributive justice with other Divine attributes.

3. They belittle conscience, present no proper idea of justice, or of the dignity of the moral law revealed

in nature, and of man's responsibility as a free agent under it.

4. They insinuate principles which lead to Universalism.

5. They are open to the seven objections made, in the Monday lecture of January 8, to Dorner's eschatology.

6. They seem to be all the result of an inconsequent method of reasoning or of obscure and blurred ideas.

7. If they are not the result of simple indefiniteness in thinking, then they are an indication of real heterodoxy.

Having answered twenty-eight questions for which Professor Smyth is responsible, I now venture to put to him four. [Loud applause.] Andover is not the object of my criticism. I am endeavoring to protect it. I have made diligent inquiries, and, so far as I can ascertain, Professor Smyth is the only teacher now in the Theological Seminary at Andover who would be willing to make himself responsible for the assertions and implications connected with these questions. He has made himself responsible for them. I do not know another professor at Andover who would do as much. My questions are solely to my questioner.

1. How far may a man indorse Dorner's eschatology and yet intelligently and honestly subscribe the Andover Seminary Creed in its original and historic sense? [Prolonged applause.]

2. How far may a man indorse Dorner's eschatology and yet intelligently and honestly subscribe the

Andover Seminary Creed for substance of doctrine?
[Applause.]

3. How does Professor Smyth reconcile his responsibility for his signature to the Andover Seminary Creed with his responsibility for the assertion, in connection with these questions, that the orthodox doctrine of the limitation of probation to this life is a "moribund," "perishing, and transient formula"?
[Applause.]

4. What alterations in the standard New School teaching of New England Theology as to Probation, Inspiration, and the Atonement would meet with Professor Smyth's approval? [Loud applause.]

REPLY TO PROFESSOR SMYTH, FEBRUARY 19.

It is no part of my purpose, this morning, to reply in full to Professor Smyth's three columns of fine type in the Boston "Daily Advertiser" of Saturday, February 17th; but there are six errors as to matters of fact which vitiate his whole discussion, and I point them out at once, to show that the communication is very vulnerable.

1. Professor Smyth is entirely mistaken in supposing that by "redemption," and "a redemptive system including the Atonement," I mean the same thing. His reply to seven points of my criticism, as well as the whole force of his somewhat surprising citation from Samuel Weller, turns wholly on this palpable mistake, and so is really no reply at all.

The act of redemption is different from the redemptive system, because the latter includes the Atonement. My positions as to the distinction between atonement and redemption are those which have been familiar to New England theology, and in constant use at Andover for a generation. Professor Smyth should have noticed that in a passage he does not cite I speak of the limitation of redemption as "*due to*," that is, as occurring on account of, "man's evil choice not to repent" (Answer to question 18), and that this language interprets the passage which he does cite. The latter can be set in opposition to the standard definitions of New School New England theology only by an incorrect statement of its meaning.

2. Three of the four questions put to Professor Smyth, and in the answers to which the public generally and the religious press in particular have expressed a keen interest, he entirely evades.

3. He does not show that he has not characterized the theory or formula which limits probation to this life, as "moribund, perishing, and transient," nor how this language is to be reconciled with his public position as a professor in Andover Theological Seminary.

After being elaborately questioned by Professor Smyth, and after replying to his questions, I have a right, as a graduate of Andover Seminary, to put to him a question as to this blazing point of discussion. I have a right simply as an American citizen to put this question on the large matter of creed subscription. This is a very old and prominent topic in

England, and may yet become such here. It is one in which the public is greatly interested, and on which the views of a gentleman of Professor Smyth's high culture and standing would, no doubt, be of value to us all.

4. Professor Smyth is mistaken in supposing that I have put into the word probation the meaning I wish to draw out of it — namely, that it implies uncertainty of result. That meaning was in the word by established usage as long ago as the days of Cicero and Cæsar. Definitions are not made, but grow.

5. Professor Smyth is mistaken in asserting, without qualification, that I am a Calvinist. New England New School theology is not Calvinism, but modified Calvinism, a consistent Calvinism, and is better called simply New School New England theology, the name by which it is known at home and abroad.

6. Professor Smyth is mistaken in supposing that by "the essential Christ" I mean only conscience in its attitude of command, without regard to conscience in its attitude of benediction to the soul that obeys its command. I mean by the essential Christ, as my language shows, "God immanent in the moral nature of every man," or, in scriptural words, "the Logos," or "the Light that lighteth every man that cometh into the world" and that "in the beginning was with God and was God."

My chief purpose in referring thus early to Professor Smyth's rejoinder to my answer to his twenty-eight inquiries is to prepare the way for a fuller answer by asking Professor Smyth himself a few

more natural and necessary questions. One of my reasons for putting these inquiries to Professor Smyth he himself expresses admirably. "Mr. Cook," says Professor Smyth, "has been out of the country. He does not know what has been going on. [Laughter.] A little more information and intelligence in these matters would enable him to use his powers to much greater advantage." For the purpose of making this discussion more thorough, and especially more spiritually profitable, I put twelve new inquiries, and, in view of my own frankness in answering twenty-eight and more of Professor Smyth's questions, the public will expect him to reply to this much fewer number.

1. What are Professor Smyth's definitions of a theodicy; a perfect theodicy; atonement; redemption; a remedial system; the Divine justice; a fair chance; more than a fair chance; a decisive probation; a merely possible truth, against which no dogma can be laid down?

2. In the sentence, "Every soul that sees Christ as its final judge will before have seen Him as its atoning sacrifice," what is meant by "seeing Christ as an atoning sacrifice" in the case of those who have no knowledge during life as to the historic Christ?

3. What is meant by it in the case of those who have heard of the historic Christ only in a fragmentary, false, or otherwise seriously imperfect way?

4. If the principle adopted by Professor Smyth in the sentence quoted is applied seriously, does it not include the cases not only of "infants, idiots, luna-

tics, and some heathen," but of all who have not heard at all, or, although hearing, have not adequately heard, of the "historic Christ"?

5. Does Professor Smyth indorse the following position of Dorner? "*The absoluteness of Christianity demands that no one be judged before Christianity has been made accessible and brought home to him. But that is not the case in this life with millions of human beings. Nay, even within the Church there are periods and circles where the gospel does not really approach men as that which it really is.*"¹

In the citations I am to make from Dorner I beg leave to call the attention of this audience most carefully to his language, which I quote from the Rev. Dr. Newman Smyth's edition of a fragment of Dorner's work, although I should advise all who wish for a complete view of this theme to read T. & T. Clark's edition of Dorner's whole theology, or, better yet, the original German.

6. How does Professor Smyth show that it is not spiritually hazardous in an appalling degree to give, as Dorner does in the passage cited, such a definition of a fair chance that not only all who have never heard of the historic Christ, but millions who have, will think they have not had a fair chance, and then to promise to all these, on easy and liberal terms, a continued probation after death?

7. How does Professor Smyth reconcile either Dorner's position or his own with the position of St. Paul in Romans i. and ii., that all who have con-

¹ Dorner on *The Future State*, ed. by the Rev. Dr. Newman Smyth, p. 101.

science, free will, and the light of nature and experience, are without excuse?

8. What does Professor Smyth think of the following position of Dorner: "The sin which leads to damnation can never be the sin resulting from innate sinfulness alone or at all from the influence of the race, the common spirit, example, or temptation by error. Rather *the sin rendering the individual absolutely bad can only be the personal guilt of rejecting Christ.*"¹

9. According to Professor Smyth, is the rejection of the atoning love of God, as seen in the historic Christ, as presented to human souls here or in the intermediate state, the only ground of final condemnation? Is such rejection the only act that fixes character? If probation lasts, as Professor Smyth teaches, until such rejection of the historic Christ takes place, and if only what fixes character ends probation, does he not teach that it is this rejection and this only which fixes character? Does not this imply that among those who have not heard of the historic Christ in this life, not one in this life has fixed his character or could fix it, no matter how evil his deeds or how thoroughly confirmed his habits of vice? Is not such a position most atrociously frivolous, as well as mischievous, since it is palpably contrary to what is accurately known of human character from modern ethical science and all great literature and philosophy of every creed and school, as well as in most direct contradiction to the Holy Scriptures.

¹ See Dorner on *The Future State*, edited by the Rev. Dr. Newman Smyth, p. 125.

10. What is Professor Smyth's reply in detail to the twelve passages of Scripture cited in the Prelude to the 152d Boston Monday Lecture, as showing, directly or indirectly, that probation in its strict sense does not extend to the intermediate state? In particular, what is Professor Smyth's reply, on the basis of exegesis or literary good sense, and not on that of a citation of authorities, to the position that Peter is to be explained as consistent with himself, and 2 Peter ii. explains the references in 1 Peter to preaching to spirits in prison?

11. How does Professor Smyth justify the Divine character as a whole, including love and mercy, as well as justice, in permitting an unequal distribution among men of the goods of this life — such as health, education, intellectual and moral endowments at birth — and external incitements to virtue, as well as in what appears to be an unequal operation of the Holy Spirit upon the individuals of the race in this life?

12. How does Professor Smyth justify the Divine character as a whole in creating beings who, as the divine omniscience previous to their creation foresees, will be forever lost?

In Professor Smyth's article I am told that there is no attempt to force Dorner on the public; but here is a translation (holding up the Rev. Dr. Newman Smyth's edition of Dorner on "The Future Life") of all that Dorner says on eschatology pushed before the public by a gentleman who does not indorse him in every particular, as I very well know; but who, nevertheless, is regarded by the in-

telligent part of the public as in some sense a champion of Dorner's view on many points. You will allow me to be perfectly frank here. I know that I have been out of this country, but whom have I attacked since returning? Dorner, and no American. Dorner, I have studied for years. I have listened to him often in Berlin. I have seen the disastrous effects of his teaching in eschatology on much of the preaching in German state churches. Returning to America, I did not take part in a debate that was new to me. When have I named any American here belonging to what I call the siren school of semi-Universalism? Not till men of that school came forward, and in print attacked this platform, was there the name of a man of that school whispered here. I do not pretend to know what the siren school of semi-Universalism inside American Congregational orthodoxy thinks. This movement has no newspaper of its own as yet. [Laughter.] There is no accredited organ of this faction; for I will not dignify it by the name of party. There is a Plymouth pulpit faction, inside of orthodoxy, or outside, which shall I say? [Laughter.] "Outside," gentlemen behind me say. Marcus Aurelius wrote: "Abhor all that needs walls and curtains." If I am to follow this precept, and if I am to keep in view these columns of questions to me by Professor Smyth, and this volume issued by the Rev. Dr. Smyth, and the months of discussion which have raged about this name, I must say that there is also a Smyth faction. [Laughter.] It has no connection whatever with the first, except in repudiat-

ing the view that probation is limited to this life. Professor Smyth is a vigorous and most honorable opponent of the first faction. Until attacked, I did not once name that other faction nor the Smyth faction, for I do not pretend to know accurately what they think. I am anxious to ascertain. It is possible, if I can sufficiently draw the fire of these factions, that by and by my ignorance will be adequately enlightened. One of my objects is to draw the fire of the enemy, and I am succeeding, if you please. [Laughter and applause.]

Summarizing the central question of a current debate under this phraseology, "Park or Dorner, which?" I am told by Professor Smyth that this language is unfit to be addressed to cultured persons, because it savors of an appeal to local prejudices. If Dorner had taught at Andover what he has taught at Berlin, and if Professor Park had taught at Berlin what he has taught at Andover, I should be to-day a German in my theology and a vehement opponent of the New England School. [Applause.] It is only on account of the clearness, massiveness, comprehensiveness, acuteness, and conclusiveness of the best portions of the thought of the New School New England theology that I reverence it. I am not a New Englander by birth. It is true I have lived here more than anywhere else in the world, and passed the more important of my school-days here; but my theological sympathies are not limited by geographical lines. I repel, as utterly unworthy of any generous or cultivated person, the suspicion that I am ruled by provincial prejudices and local attach-

ments. Clear ideas at any cost carried out to the thirty-two points of the compass, these, with spiritual purposes, are what I revere and what I do not find in Dorner's eschatology, but do find in Professor Park and his great predecessors among those who have developed New England theology. It will be understood, of course, that I do not lack reverence for orthodox evangelical theology outside of New England. The principles I am defending are common to the standards of all the evangelical bodies.

If I have said anything that seems personally discourteous to any one, I cancel it. My object is to cultivate here entire freedom of discussion, without discourtesy. I have been out of the country, and have not participated in the discussions which have aroused in many circles a bitterness of feeling which amazes and pains me. Let it be far from us in this assembly. I would unite with Professor Smyth in prayer to Almighty God that we may be led into the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth.

REPLY TO PROFESSOR SMYTH, MARCH 12.

Truth, honor, liberty, and peace are the essentials of healthy life in Congregationalism, as in any other religious body. There must be peace in the Church; but, to use Lord Beaconsfield's phrase, it must be peace with honor, with liberty, and with truth. There must be liberty, but liberty with peace, honor, and truth. There must be honor, but honor

with truth, liberty, and peace. There must be truth, and this includes within itself peace, liberty, and honor.

Can Dornerism in eschatology be introduced into the theological chairs and pulpits of the Evangelical churches, and especially of the Congregational body, in consistency with truth, honor, liberty, and peace?

On this question, which is the central one in all I have said or published in the current debate on probation, I maintain the negative. This is my chief contention now, and has been from the first; so that, establishing this point, my case is carried in precisely the form in which it was stated at the outset of the discussion.

So far was I from intending to attack Professor Smyth, of Andover, when I raised here, on January 8th, the question, "New England Orthodox Theology; or, German State Church Theology, which? Park or Dorner, which?" that I did not have him in mind as one who would be likely to be offended by my criticisms of Dorner. I did not know Professor Smyth's views. I supposed him to be loyal to the Andover Seminary creed, to which he had repeatedly given his signature. I had not the slightest intention of making public reference to him or any of his friends; and when his twenty-eight questions appeared, I did not even dream that he was their author. Besides, falling into most palpable error in regard to the six matters of fact which I mentioned here on February 19th, Professor Smyth is entirely mistaken in asserting that I "attacked vehemently, and undertook to announce, as by authority, what

was agreed upon as to the beliefs of a professor in Andover Seminary.”¹ I profess solemnly that I attacked, and intended to attack, no American, and, least of all, any professor at Andover, a town of great and honorable fame, which is very naturally dear to me, after nearly seven years’ residence there as a student.

I took Dorner for the object of my attack for three reasons : —

(1.) He is an object large enough to be seen on both sides of the Atlantic, so that a discussion of his views has a certain timeliness and dignity abroad as well as at home.

(2.) His views had recently been placed before the world in authoritative and final shape in his four volumes of theology, so that there could be no debate as to what his opinions are. There was no authoritative statement before the public, and there is not yet, as to the views of those who are more or less Dorner’s followers in this country.

(3.) By undermining the authority of Dorner’s eschatology, I was sure to undermine the authority of what had been built upon it ; and I could not but see, as a student of current events, that in America as well as in Germany, and in the Broad Church, so called, in the Anglican establishment, not a little had been built on it. My object was to strike a blow as useful as possible not only at home, but in any circles to which the printed words of this discussion might ultimately be wafted in newspaper form, or in books republished abroad.

¹ See his communication in the *Daily Advertiser* of February 17, first column.

1. *Practical mischiefs of Dornerism and of Professor Smyth's working hypothesis in eschatology:—*

What is Dornerism in eschatology? Some few unprofessional hearers may ask: "What is eschatology?" This word is compounded very simply of Greek *eschatos*, last, and *logos*, a discourse, and means the doctrine of the last things; that is, of death, the last judgment, and the end of the world. It includes in most theological systems a discussion of the resurrection, the intermediate state of departed souls, Christ's second advent, the eternal woe of the lost, and the eternal blessedness of the saved. *It is a topic so unspeakably vast and solemn that no mistake concerning it can be so small as not to be colossal.* It can be fitly discussed only in the clearest light of strictly self-evident truths and of revelation, and in the spirit of devoutest prayer.

If I were speaking only before scholars in theology, I might say that Lutheranism, in spite of its many merits in other particulars, has had a reputation for two centuries for browbeating and twisting Scriptures so as to make the external standard of authority conform to the inner standard of Christian consciousness. Luther himself, with all his massive greatness as preacher, scholar, prophet, and reformer, was sometimes guilty of this. It is well known that he denied the canonicity of the Epistle of James, not at all because he thought it spurious as an historical document, but because its contents did not suit his Christian consciousness. His boldness in this matter has not been copied by Calvinistic, Scottish, Anglican, Wesleyan, or American theologians. It has,

however, been imitated almost as an inspired precedent by many Lutheran theologians, and specially by Dorner. Although he covers his audacity by a cloud of reverential phrases, he is really almost as eccentric in this matter as was Luther. Here is a scholarly article in a recent number of the "British and Foreign Evangelical Review,"¹ and it affirms, unqualifiedly, what scholars here know has been said hundreds of times before by the most unprejudiced and learned critics, that "it became the habit of the Lutheran Church from its cradle to make the Word of God bend and bow to prop up those dogmas which were once for all regarded as essentials of revelation." American students of Dorner are likely to be very seriously misled as they examine his "History of Protestant Christianity" and his "System of Christian Doctrine," unless they keep constantly in view this background of notorious facts in the development of the Lutheranism which Dorner champions.

To uproot error we must uproot its lowermost roots, and so I ask you to go back with me to the beginning of Dorner's chief errors, *an undue exaltation of the Christian consciousness above Scripture as a source of certainty in regard to religious truth.*

Dorner's tests of truth in theology are Scripture and faith. To these he constantly appeals as the formal and material principles of the Lutheran Reformation, and of Protestantism. They are the organizing ideas of Lutheran theology, of which Professor Dorner is the foremost living representative. Dorner's system of theological thought has really no

¹ October, 1882, p. 680.

centre. It is not a circle, but an ellipse, and its two foci are Scripture and Faith. As in the formation of an ellipse, one focus has as much guiding power as the other, so, in the construction of his system of doctrine, one of these authorities is as good as the other. The revelation made in the Bible as a whole, and by the incarnation of God in Christ, is one focus of the ellipse; and the other is Faith—a word on which everything depends, but which Dorner is far from using in a clear, distinct, and unvarying meaning. It usually signifies what I must call regenerate individualism; or, what he calls the Christian consciousness. To become authoritative, a doctrine, according to Dorner, must be justified by both these tests. This is only carrying out Luther's famous saying, quoted with approval by Dorner:¹ "The vital point is that we equalize the Scriptures and the Christian conscience."

It is, of course, clear that there is a great distinction between *conscience* and *consciousness*, as the words are used in philosophy in our day of exact research; but it is by no means clear that Luther always made a distinction between the two, nor that Dorner does, although Luther usually seems to mean the former, and Dorner the latter. Dorner has been greatly influenced by Schleiermacher and Hegel; and his use of philosophical terms cannot always be understood without a tolerably wide knowledge of the systems of thought of his own teachers.

At the last analysis, however, as has been so often charged against other Lutheran theologians, Dorner

¹ *History of Protestant Theology*, vol. i. p. 256, by T. & T. Clark.

depends in some cases more on Faith than on Scripture, as a test of religious truth. When Scripture on the one hand and regenerate individualism on the other seem to conflict, he does, in many most important cases, make the latter of considerably more importance than the former. For example, he says: "That some are lost rests on *preponderant* exegetical grounds, but that gives no dogmatic proposition, because this must be derived also from the principle of Faith." No amount of explanation can bring this and the scores of similar passages to be found in Dorner's works into harmony with what standard evangelical theology has for centuries regarded as sound principles.¹

Precisely here is the point at which, according to my judgment, Dorner opens a door for a flood of mystical, obscure, erratic, and often mischievous speculations. As one of his admiring students in America has said, with singular failure to perceive that this praise is the greatest dispraise: "*Any one who has once grasped the controlling principle of Dorner's theology . . . will need no explanation of Dorner's dogmatic hesitancy, when he finds himself unable to reconcile facts of history or texts of Scripture with that which Faith has already learned to deem Christ-like and most worthy of God. It is not enough for a Christian doctrine that it be apparently contained in the Scripture; it needs, also, to be recognized as Christian by Faith.*"²

¹ See Dorner on *The Future State*, ed. by the Rev. Dr. Newman Smyth, p. 127.

² The Rev. Dr. Newman Smyth's Introduction to Dorner on *The Future State*, p. 12.

The obvious peril of this principle is, that its tendency is to make the ultimate test of dogmatic certainty not what the Scriptures declare to be worthy of God, but what the Christian consciousness thinks to be worthy of God. We are not to follow Scripture, even when its preponderating testimony is clear to us, provided our Christian consciousness is opposed to Scripture. We are not to believe what we are taught by revelation as to God, but what we think we ought to be taught. We are not to hold facts of history and texts of Scripture subject to that interpretation which a scientific treatment of the records of revelation requires; we are to put upon them an interpretation which we deem Christ-like and most worthy of God.

(1.) My central objection to Dorner's general system of thought is, that his ultimate test of certainty, in many cases of the highest importance, is nothing more than individualistic whim. It may be regenerate individualism to which he appeals; it may be the Christian consciousness of the best portions of the Church, age after age; it may be what he calls Faith, regarded as, equally with Scripture, a work of the Holy Spirit; but in a close examination it will be found that it is on what man thinks God ought to teach, and not on what revelation shows that God does teach, that Dorner founds his theology.

(2.) I contend that in the fallen estate of human nature there is nothing in a man except the intuitions, strictly so-called, or the faculties by which we perceive truths, absolutely self-evident, necessary and universal, that can be safely used as a final test of truth.

(3.) Regenerate individualism, used as such a test, and not kept in constant and complete subordination to the written word, and to strictly self-evident truths, is an *ignis fatuus* in the domain of theology, and has been proved to be such by the history of religious speculation, age after age, and recognized as such in all the noblest periods of religious thought and activity.

As scholars here well know, Dorner's principle of making regenerate consciousness a final test of truth was held by Schleiermacher. The latter, on account of his teaching this principle, and in spite of the value of many other parts of his work, is justly regarded by the soundest theologians in Scotland, England, and America as one of the unsafe leaders of Christian science. His system, however brilliant in parts, has waned in authority in Germany itself from its tendency to mysticism, obscurity, arbitrariness, and individualistic error. The debate on these points is a very old and thorough one in Germany. The attempt to force Schleiermacher's principles in Dorner's name upon circles well-informed in recent church history, or in love with a reverent biblical theology and clear ideas, is reactionary in a degree as audacious as it is unscholarly and mischievous.

Some German theologians, following the principle that we are not to believe of God what is revealed in Scripture and Nature so much as what we think to be Christ-like and most worthy of God, have become champions of Universalism. To create beings when it is foreseen they are to be lost forever is not Christian, so these guides say, and, therefore, it

must not be supposed that any being can so sin as to be lost. Dorner has been interpreted as doubting whether Omniscience in creating souls foresees the free acts which may lead to their moral ruin. Professor Smyth thinks that the continuance of the lost in being is a difficulty in the vindication of God's justice. It is very significant that liberalistic mysticism, for this is the true name of the system of Dorner and Schleiermacher, on the points here in discussion, agrees with liberalistic rationalism in demanding a religion more Christian than Christianity, and more Christ-like than Christ.

It is an amazement to me that the Rev. Dr. Newman Smyth, in his Introduction to an edition of Dorner's eschatology, should say of a chapter of Dorner's, in which he sets forth the principles I have now stated, and which needs no condemnation other than their statement that "*he knows of no passage in modern theological literature so thoroughly satisfactory and helpful.*"¹ Without indorsing Dorner at all points, the Rev. Dr. Newman Smyth very unguardedly says: "*I am ready to maintain that the principles upon which Dorner proceeds are clearly Christian.*" Professor Smyth, as I understand him, while not accepting Dornerism "in the lump," does accept these central principles of his system. As a teacher of ecclesiastical history, he must know that Schleiermacher and Dorner, great as they are in other respects, have a reputation for weak and mischievous teaching on these very points. As to the danger of these utterly unscientific principles, the dispraise of

¹ Introduction, p. 6.

them and of Schleiermacher and Dorner as defending them, is to be heard in nearly every high quarter of Christian thought and aggressive evangelical effort.

The Rev. Dr. Newman Smyth, indeed, while introducing Dorner's eschatology to Americans, is frank enough to say: "It is but justice to Dorner to state that this portion of his work hardly equals in strength and positiveness of results some earlier portion of his system."¹ The truth is, that Dorner's eschatology, dispassionately judged by internal evidence, is a crude and hasty portion of a great system, too large for any one man to work out thoroughly. It is a dead twig on a tree that has many noble branches; it is a wen on the face of Dorner's large work. The attempt to cut off that dead twig and ingraft it into the tree of American religious thought, the effort to remove that wen from its place and plant it in the fair face of New England theology, is a procedure which only needs to be exposed to be defeated.

Dorner holds that the only sin which can cause the ruin of the soul is the rejection of the historic Christ, as made known in the clearest manner in his atoning love to the human soul, either in this life or in the intermediate state.

The chief reasons for holding this is not that it is anywhere distinctly stated in Scripture, but that it is necessary to the exigencies of Dorner's system to hold it. He does not think it would be Christian in God to do less than this scheme of thought supposes

¹ Introduction, p. 21.

Him to do. The divine justice, as well as the divine mercy, requires that no soul should be condemned until in fullest light it has rejected the historic Christ.

Dorner asserts, as of course he must, in harmony with this scheme of thought, that no sin before Christ can be decisive unbelief. "It does not, however, follow," he adds, "that sin before Christ was not in the proper sense sin; was not laden with guilt and punishable . . . but from this ripeness for eternal perdition cannot proceed." ¹

The fascination of this scheme of thought to many minds which do not look beneath its surface is that it is put forward in the name of what we must suppose to be Christ-like in God, and in that of broad and high ideas of the divine justice. All that is included in Dorner's or Professor Smyth's broadest definitions of the Christ-like, and of the divine justice, is included in the standard and scholarly systems of theology in definitions of the various divine attributes, and, of course, without the moral dangers and intellectual absurdities inseparable from Dorner's definition.

Dorner holds, and so must Professor Smyth, in consistency with his hypothesis, that "free moral personality can be fully developed out of the generic state or race connection, and can be finally self-determined in good or evil only through the actual choice or rejection of the supreme ethical good," that is, of the atoning love of the historic Christ, as seen here or in the intermediate state. "Until free

¹ Introduction, p. 20.

self-determination is reached in view of the final good; until, in the approach of that supreme good, the definitive crisis comes to the individual, human character may indeed be sinful and worthy of punishment, but it cannot have reached its final form and permanence." This astounding doctrine as to the development of a free moral personality, and this equally amazing assertion that no one before Christ, or without hearing of Christ, can fix his character permanently in evil, no matter how terrible or confirmed his wickedness may be, are obviously contrary, not only to the best established principles of ethical, psychological, and even legal science, but to the plainest inculcations of the Scriptures and common sense.

The supreme practical mischief of Dornerism is the outcome of the positions of which the philosophical and exegetical untenability has now been exposed. Dorner promises a continued probation beyond death, and so indirectly does Professor Smyth's working hypothesis, not only to all who have in this life never heard of the historic Christ, but "to all who have heard of him only in a false, fragmentary, or otherwise seriously imperfect way." This includes the larger part of Christendom itself.¹ Such a promise as this I do most solemnly and unqualifiedly pronounce atrociously frivolous, as well as mischievous. No such promise as this, but exactly its opposite, is contained in the gospels. It marks

¹ See Professor Smyth's affirmative reply to my fourth question of February 19th, and most especially pp. 11-21 of the Rev. Dr. Smyth's Introduction.

this portion of Dornerism not only as belonging to the siren school of a false liberalism, but as nearly equivalent in practical effect to Universalism, and as really one of the hungriest whirlpools of fascinating and fatal heresy.

2. *Answers to Professor Smyth's questions : —*

(1.) Is conscience the Redeemer? Is conscience God? No; as the magnetic needle is not magnetism; but it reveals God, as the needle reveals the courses of the magnetic currents.

(2.) Does redemption mean the use of the atonement? Redemption, in its active sense, is God's act, not man's; but, in its passive sense, it includes man's free surrender of his soul to God as both Saviour and Lord. God is ever ready to redeem all who yield to Him, and therefore, in its practical sense, redemption is limited, on account of man's refusal to repent.

(3.) What proof is there that Dorner's influence has paralyzed the preaching of German state churches? My assertion was not that Dorner alone, as an individual, has made a large part of the preaching of the German state churches spiritually barren; but that the system of eschatological teaching which he represents has had that result. I have not affirmed that Dorner originated this mischief; his influence helps to keep it up. It ought to be well known to every professor of ecclesiastical history that Protestantism in Germany, so far as it is represented by its average churches and preaching, is often spoken of by its friends as a failure.¹

¹ See *British and Foreign Evangelical Review* for 1882.

Professor Smyth quotes a letter of Tholuck, written to him in 1876, as affirming that there has been a great improvement in the spiritual condition of Germany since the opening of the century. I gladly admit this, especially as to the theological faculties of the leading universities, in which, as I have repeatedly pointed out in public, there has been a great reaction against unbelief. The improvement is not so marked in the pulpits and congregations. But to show that darkness has diminished is not to show that day has come. This same Professor Tholuck, whom Professor Smyth cites to prove that the German state churches are in a fairly good spiritual condition, once said that if they were separated from the state not a score of them, in his opinion, would be capable of self-support. In 1871 and 1873, more than twice or thrice I heard this same revered German teacher lament with tears the spiritual inefficiency of the German churches, and I heard Christlieb do this often in 1881. They by no means ascribed the barrenness of the German churches chiefly to their connection with the state. German churches fail to insist with adequate emphasis on the new birth, and on present immediate urgencies in religion, such as Dorner's creed does not, and thoroughly evangelical creeds do, point out. "Converted and unconverted with us," said Professor Tholuck, "are mixed pell-mell together; we are all members of the Church after confirmation, whether Christian or not; we have never learned what Jonathan Edwards and Whitefield taught New England, to make a public distinction in our churches between

the regenerate and unregenerate. That distinction is of more importance to American religious life than all your other peculiarities of church management." I have seen the empty state churches of Berlin, and of many another German city; in Halle, in 1871, I looked in vain for a prayer-meeting or a Sunday-school. Many of the state preachers go on from such an eschatology as Dorner's into pure Restorationism. I suppose Professor Smyth will not deny that Universalism paralyzes preaching. At this moment the German state churches are missionary ground for the Baptists, and the Methodists, and the Moravians.

(4.) What are the essentials for ordination? Ought men who do not accept the teaching of New England theology and the standards of Presbyterian, Methodist, Baptist, Episcopalian, and Anglican churches, in regard to eschatology, to be refused ministerial standing in the Congregational body?

I have no ecclesiastical position or influence, and desire none. My personal vote in the cases mentioned by Professor Smyth would be governed by the principles defended by Professor Phelps in an article in "The Independent" of May 18th, and by Professor Park, in an already celebrated address in Boston, published in "The Congregationalist" of November 8th. These Andover professors need no justification for their opinion on the points here in question but their record.

3. *Professor Smyth's obscure and confused propositions* : —

(1.) Professor Smyth gives this definition of one of the most fundamental terms in religious science.

It will be remembered that the merits of a definition are clearness, unambiguousness, and easy justifiableness by established usage. It should contain no metaphorical language, nor any as to the meaning of which a debate is possible. "Divine justice," says Professor Smyth, adopting the words of another, "is the self-preserving honor of God, as the absolute, ideal, and actualizing law and guard of all bestowal of worth." What is bestowal of worth? What is the difference between an absolute, an ideal, and an actualizing law? What is a guard of a bestowal of worth? When I read this definition it reminded me of the famous agnostic definition of matter given by Professor Bain: "Matter is a double-faced somewhat, physical on one side and spiritual on the other." What is a side of matter? What is a face? What is a side of a double face? What is a what? What is a somewhat? What is a side of a double face of a somewhat? Herbert Spencer's definition of life came to my mind: "Life is a definite combination of heterogeneous changes, both simultaneous and successive, in correspondence with external coexistences and sequences." All these definitions violate the first principles of clear and definite thinking, and seem to have been constructed to support foregone conclusions.

(2.) Professor Smyth says that we may not be able to construct a perfect Theodicy; that is, he admits that we may not be able to construct a perfect vindication of God in view of the natural and moral evil in the universe. This is agnostic pessimism in philosophy, and is contrary to the whole resonance

of the Holy Scriptures from their first notes to the last.

(3.) Professor Smyth says that if any proposition is "a possible truth, no man has a right to lay down a dogma which excludes it." "It is, at least, possible," he affirms, "that Peter believed that the gospel was preached to dead persons," that is, to souls in the intermediate state, "that they might live according to God in the spirit." Therefore, no man has a right to lay down the dogma that probation ends with this life. Here is a most grave misconception of the whole nature of moral reasoning. It is, at least, possible that to-morrow the sun will not rise, nor the earth be habitable by man; but I have a right to believe that it will rise, and to take it for granted that we shall have our usual tasks to perform to-morrow. It is possible that Queen Victoria is not living at this moment, therefore her official representatives in various parts of the world have no right to speak in her name. On all such reasoning as this, men of affairs, as well as scholars, look with amazement. It is, at least, possible that Peter did *not* teach that the gospel was preached to spirits in the intermediate state, and, therefore, no man has a right to lay down a dogma assuming that he *did* teach this — so we might affirm on Professor Smyth's principles. The truth that moral reasoning consists of a balance of probabilities, and that the small straw of one parenthetical passage of obscure and most doubtful interpretation cannot be used to check the flow of the central current of biblical teaching, and, especially, of our Lord's own constant calcula-

tions in eschatology, seems to have escaped entirely from Professor Smyth's attention.

Grant the canonical authority of II. Peter, and Professor Smyth does not attempt to deny it, and in any court of law Peter's controverted phrases in his First Epistle would be interpreted by his second. It is a supreme rule of exegetical science, that one passage of the Bible is not allowed to resist its main drift, and that the plain is not to be explained by the obscure.

4. *His hazardous or heretical propositions* : —

These are all contained in what he adopts from Dornerism. He holds as the best working hypothesis that not merely infants, idiots, lunatics, and some heathen, but all men who have not heard of the historic Christ in this life, or who have only heard of Him in a false, fragmentary, or otherwise seriously imperfect manner, will have a continued probation in the intermediate state. He teaches that the orthodox view, which for ages in evangelical standard creeds has limited probation to this life, is "extra-Scriptural," and a "provincialism" and "a moribund, perishing, and transient formula."

Professor Smyth's propositions imply that the heathen have not a fair chance without a knowledge of the atonement. He teaches that all who see Christ as Judge will previously, either here or hereafter, have a "knowledge" of Him as Redeemer. But Paul teaches that those who have not the law, that is, no knowledge of the historic Christ, shall be judged without that law "in the day when God shall judge the secrets of men by Jesus Christ."

The Holy Scripture so magnifies conscience, and the light that lighteth every man that cometh into the world, that it teaches that the heathen themselves are without excuse. Professor Smyth so underrates conscience, and the moral law revealed to all men through Nature and experience, that he does not regard the heathen, who are outside of Christendom or within it, and have no knowledge of the historic Christ, as without excuse. The heathen at home are often as bad as the heathen abroad. So great is conscience, so unescapable and fair is man's probation under the moral law alone, that the apostle teaches that some who have sinned without a knowledge of the written law shall be condemned without that law. So does Professor Smyth overlook conscience, and the ineffable majesty of the Divine Word which it reveals to every responsible human being, that he teaches, in contradiction not only to Scripture, but to all sound axioms of ethical science, that no man can be condemned at the Judgment Day for any sin which he committed without a knowledge of Christ as Redeemer.

5. *His evasions* :—

It will be noticed that I have answered all Professor Smyth's inquiries. Seven definite questions of mine, fairly suggested by his thirty-one questions, to which I have replied, he rules out and refuses to answer. There is no reply to them in the document to which he refers as written by himself and his colleagues. The inquiries he rejects are precisely those on which I was the most anxious to obtain his opinions, and on which, to all appearance, he could

not speak frankly, without serious logical embarrassment.

6. *His self-contradictions* : —

Professor Smyth is in a chair of a theological institution established to maintain precisely the opposite opinions to those represented by his working hypothesis in eschatology. His hypothesis, although only an hypothesis, prevents his teaching the doctrines of the Andover Seminary creed on these vital points. It is a rule of the Andover Seminary that every professor shall signify his solemn assent to the Seminary creed every five years. Nothing that Professor Smyth or any one else has published explains this self-contradiction in a matter of the gravest practical moment.

7. *Four final questions* : —

As a means of directing attention, not to personal issues of this discussion, but to the large matter of creed subscription in its widest and most serious relations to the health and honor of the churches, I put four final questions. As Professor Smyth fails to answer nearly half of my inquiries, I put these to the friends of Andover, and especially to its graduates, of whom it is my fortune to be one, and also to the friends of evangelical Christianity at large. The opinion of the honored trustees and visitors of Andover on these points the public would receive with the most careful consideration : —

(1.) How do they show that a working hypothesis, such as Professor Smyth holds, does not prevent his teaching the propositions of the Andover Seminary creed in relation to eschatology ?

(2.) How do they convince themselves that he who holds this working hypothesis, and calls the orthodox view as to the limitation of probation to this life a moribund, perishing, and transient theory, is *both* intelligent and honest in his acceptance of that creed?

(3.) How do they show that in allowing such views to be taught at Andover as are the opposite of those which the Andover creed was intended to subserve, there is not something like a breach of trust and a perversion of funds?

(4.) What would probably be the opinion of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts on this matter as a question of law and common equity?

APPENDIX V.

A NIGHT ON THE ACROPOLIS; OR, ART AND HISTORY AT ATHENS.

A LECTURE DELIVERED IN BOSTON, NEW YORK, ANDOVER, AND IN VARIOUS COLLEGE TOWNS.

I.

ON the night when Plato became the pupil of Socrates, the latter, according to Pausanias, dreamed that a white swan, rising from the altar of Eros, flew into his bosom, and thence ascended to heaven with a song which delighted both gods and men.

Demosthenes, in reply to his enemies, once boasted that there were days when Athens had but one voice within her walls; and the stranger, entering the gates and startled by the silence, was told that Demosthenes was speaking in the assembly of the people.

Were Plato, Socrates, and Demosthenes the only forms visible from the Acropolis, that eminence would be the loftiest outlook on the globe over human intellectual history. At the west summit of the Parthenon there is a point from which are visible, by once turning the head, the groves of Plato's

Academy, the daily haunts of Socrates, the Pnyx of Demosthenes, the grounds of the Lyceum of Aristotle, the Mars Hill of Paul, the Propylea of Phidias and Pericles, the Erechtheum, the Tower of the Winds, the Panathenaic Stadium, the Olympieum, the theatre of Æschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides, the Temple of Theseus, the pass of Daphne, the sacred road to Eleusis, the heights of Acro-Corinthus, Cytherus, Parnes, Pentelicus, and Hymettus, the plains of the Cephissus and the Ilissus, the harbors of Phalerum and the Piræus, the islands Ægina, Psyttalea, and Salamis, the mountain slope once the seat of Xerxes, the Phyle pass of Thrasybulus, the path to the Marathon of Miltiades, the Salamis straits of Aristides and Themistocles. I confess that I rarely occupied this outlook long without falling into a trance.

II.

One day, having spent hours on the Acropolis, I sat in the Parthenon, after sunset, looking on the jagged ridges of the gnarled, scorched islands, the purple seas, the gray, dusky olive groves, the faint blue, lilac Corinthian and Argolian mountains, and on the russet not yet wholly faded from the crystalline, palpitating silver of the Greek West. Even the brown slope of the semicircle of the Pnyx, on which the audiences of Demosthenes and Pericles assembled, took irradiation from the glowing sky, which transfigured by the softness of its reflected light the roseate white stateliness of the marbles of the Acropolis. The heights of Parnes, the matchlessly graceful outlines of Pentelicus, the ridges of thirsty Hymet-

tus, the grandeur of lofty Cytherus gazed on the rustling Ilissus and Cephissus groves, the city, the Parthenon, and the sea. The majestic ruins were silent about me. The gates of the summit of the Acropolis were shut. I had taken pains to be completely alone. My intention was to pass a whole night with the Parthenon, walking on the Acropolis by moonlight, and beholding there the rising of the sun. I am to attempt now not argument, but description; and this not from memory, but almost exclusively from notes written in Greece in presence of the objects named; nor is the topic all Greece, but Art and History at Athens, or a night on the Acropolis. Distant soft noises of children at play came up from the city; rumble of wheels, and occasionally strains of music. Suddenly in the gathering darkness and increasing loneliness, I heard the sharp shrill cry of a screech-owl, several times repeated — Minerva's bird in Minerva's temple.

I looked long on Salamis through the ruddy light. There rose transfigured in memory the day when Leonidas and his Spartan heroes lay dead in the pass of Thermopylæ, and the women and children of burnt Athens, this Acropolis itself sending up flame, assembled on the island to look down from the one side, as Xerxes and his innumerable host did from under Mt. Ægaleos on the other, upon the narrow strait in which the 378 Greek triremes conquered the 1,000 Asiatic. There the deluge of an inferior but haughty civilization, cast thunderous and turbid upon Europe, was turned back by a solitary people, who seemed to have gone beyond the jaws and to have descended into the very throat of ruin.

Before the battles of Marathon and Salamis, Asia predominated in the world's affairs. Since those contests, she has always had a second rank. This steel gray narrow sheet of murmurous salt-water has been thus visibly touched in human history by that finger at whose contact the hills melt and the mountains smoke ; and, therefore, even after 2,300 years, the waves flash here, between the bleak rocky shores, with a light better than that of the sun. Greek civilization, on that great day when the women on Salamis, according to the prophecy, boiled their meat with broken oars, was in process of preservation for you and for me ; and among the corpses which shut the moonlight from the depths of this clear water on the night after the battle, the plans of Providence for the education of Rome, of London, of Paris, and of Boston were advancing.

Æschylus fought in the triremes at Salamis. Sophocles, a mere boy, danced at the festival held on the island in honor of the victory. Euripides was born there. Demosthenes, exiled to the island, used to walk down to the shore at sunset to look toward the Pnyx, the Acropolis, and the Parthenon. From the place where he stood, I have counted with a field glass the pillars of the Parthenon, eight miles away. Except for Ægina, twelve miles to the south of Salamis, I could have seen the island of Calauria, where Demosthenes passed from the world, as Aristotle, on Eubœa, out of sight beyond the blue cone of Pentelicus, ceased to breathe. Aristotle and Demosthenes died October 14, B. C. 322. It was my experience even in Athens that this remarkable date seemed to close Greek history.

As I looked from my seat in the Parthenon toward Salamis, a light, the first of the evening, flashed out on the left of the small, conical, rocky hill yet called Xerxes' seat. It shone from the light-house on the little gray island of Psyttalea, where Aristides, in the battle of Salamis, exhibited in a land contest a bravery and an intellectual skill not unlike that shown by Themistocles on the sea.

Over the five miles of the line of the ancient, long walls, connecting Athens with the Piræus, roared and flashed martially a railway train, passing to and fro every hour through the fenceless and hedgeless vineyards, the scattered olives, and wild flowers, red, beautiful, and abundant enough to have been nourished each by a drop of the old Greek blood shed so often on this Athenian plain. The small, graceful, swift fishing boats with white triangular sails; the numerous fleet, and compact, animated streets of the Piræus; this imperial movement of the trains across ground so imperial in history, give life to the else solitary straits.

The island of Salamis, a mile from the Attic shore, is only ten miles long by two or three broad. It is as a whole a treeless pasture, although there are thinly clustered olives and figs on its three or four flat quarters and a few stunted Aleppo pines in the thirsty ravines of its fifteen or twenty mountain spikes and bosses. Toothed Salamis I call it, as I look on its sharp limestone ridges from Athens. Murmurous Salamis one might call it, on the island itself, listening either to the green and purple waves; to the bees in the odorous, abundant wild thyme; or to

the voices of the historical multitude of souls that fill the spiritual air.

III.

There were yet two hours before the moon was to rise above Hymettus. A characteristically Greek clearness was in the night. A bat flew between the columns. The sharp tones of the petulant kestrels, birds resembling small hawks and which hang above the Parthenon by day in summer, were silent. The stroke of a mellow bell came from the distance. I heard the owl again, not far away. The strong sea breeze little by little grew wholly still. The subtle influence of loneliness, of twilight, and of the transcendently great memories, began to act on the imagination. The air was fuller of historic presences than it had lately been of sunbeams.

Looking up between the massive whiteness of the columns of the Parthenon, I saw the large and small stars coming forth in the infinite depths of the unlighted Greek sky. Instantly Salamis and even the Acropolis were forgotten as a sentence of Euripides passed through my thoughts : —

“Seest thou the abyss of sky that hangs above thee,
And clasps the earth around in moist embrace,
This to be Jove believe, this deem thou God.”

So Newton taught, of course with variations. So too, with unimportant changes, teaches the subtlest modern inquiry. Space and Time, themselves, like nothing created, omnipresent, infinite, eternal, necessarily existent, are perhaps only modes of manifestation of Omnipresence and Self-existence. Not the ocean,

therefore, not the sun, no galaxy of stars, is the sublimest natural object, but rather the literally infinite depth of Space, unfathomable by thought, and perhaps but a robe of an Omnipresence uncomprehended, unapprehended, and best spoken of by the silence, and the conscientious daily deeds, of ineffable awe. I lay down in the west portico, looking up between the roofless shafts and capitals, and for an hour hardly remembered that I was in Greece, and yet perhaps was never more truly there.

Euripides, at one angle of this Acropolis in the theatre, and Paul at another angle on Mars Hill, were on one point hardly farther removed from each other in their teaching than were the spots where they taught.

The truth that God dwelleth not in temples made with hands seemed to sound from the familiar, uncomprehended constellations, as well as from the historic presences not wholly invisible in the starlight on Mars Hill.

What a speech was that of Saul of Tarsus, when, in presence of this transfigured Parthenon, of the three statues of the three Minervas on the Acropolis, of the far-flashing marbles of the Propylea, of the route of the Panathenaic procession which ended at the temple of Minerva, of the Agora and North and South city of Athens crowded with statues of deities, of the Pnyx where prayer to gods preceded every popular assembly, and votive tablets to Jupiter Hypsistos clothed the else naked rock, of the cave of the Furies, of statues of Hermes, Earth, and Pan almost within touch, and of an audience educated by immemorial

worship of entempled gods, he proclaimed, looking on these mountains, these islands, this sky, and this sea, that God, who made heaven and earth, dwelleth not in temples made with hands ! In a sea of temples, its waves toppling with mortal threats above his head, a solitary swimmer, a stranger, a Jew, clings to the assertion that God dwelleth not in temples ; and that assertion, after 1,800 years, rides out the hurricane.

Even upon the Academy among the Cephissus olives with Plato's grave near it, or upon the Lyceum on the Ilissus where Aristotle founded an intellectual kingdom, no such historic dignity has been conferred as upon the gnarled rock of Mars Hill. It is much to say of any object that it is large and lofty enough to be seen across the vaporous horizons of nineteen centuries by the masses of only ordinarily educated men. Such an object, however, is this reddish gray limestone ridge of the Areopagus, while Pnyx and Propylea, Acropolis, and even the Parthenon, have long ago ceased to be commandingly visible to the many, through the dim mists of the far skies.

Sixteen steps, each six feet and a half long, are cut in the south east face of the rock of Mars Hill, which projects from the northwest corner of the Acropolis, only a narrow interval dividing it from the Propylea stairs. It is about ten rods long at the top, and is scarred on its west slopes with many ancient, square cuttings in the rock for the basements of the otherwise traceless, but once numerous, Athenian houses. Its elevation is not over eighty or ninety feet ; its breadth varies from one hundred to three

hundred and fifty. Its length lies nearly east and west, and the seat of the Areopagus was at the east, which was considerably the higher end. Two quadrangular shallow spaces, each about twenty-five feet long and ten wide, the upper one nearly four feet the higher in its level, are smoothed in the rock at the summit of the ridge, and receive the stairs up which probably Paul walked from the central public square just below, and in which his discussions had begun. Salamis, Cytherus, Parnes, Pentelicus, a part of Hymettus, of the Parthenon, and of the sea, were in view. In a strong favoring wind an arrow could be shot from Mars Hill to the Bema in the Pnyx where Demosthenes stood, or into the prison in which Socrates is thought to have drunk the hemlock, or against the shield of Minerva as she once watched colossal above the Acropolis.

IV.

I rose at last and walked to and fro in the Cella in front of the temple, and took a seat in the east portico, watching the now visibly upstretching aurora of the light yet beneath the verdureless upper ridge of Hymettus. I was once on the limestone rubble and among the heavily odorous wild thyme of the lower slope of Hymettus as the sun went down, and heard the hum of the bees, which make the honey celebrated in poetry now for twenty centuries, grow still, as the sea-breeze and the daylight died away together.

A bugle sounded now at intervals from the city; while occasionally one Greek male voice, more im-

pressive than the instrument, sang in a house not far from the base of the Acropolis.

I gazed long from the Parthenon on the growing illumination of the east, and thought of the invisible Marathon plain, twenty-two miles away to the north-east beyond Pentelicus, on whose solitary, breathless upper marble ravines the ghostly light had already risen. In the loneliness and majesty of the outlook, it was natural to remember the Greek devout belief, two hundred years after the battle of Marathon, that at midnight there were to be heard on the plain sounds of horses with spears in their breasts and the confused noise of contending men of arms.

The Marathon plain is a crescent, one mile deep and six miles in length, stretching along a crescent bay. The tips of the horned plain are marsh. Seen from the triremes of the Asiatics as they approached the east side, the flat space looked broad enough for a battle line six miles long. Once on the spot, the invaders found a great marsh under the greenness of the tall rushes north of them, and a small marsh shut in by the flaming oleanders, *agnus vitæ*, prickly hedges of rock-rose, and stunted pines to the south, so that there was only room enough for a two miles line.

Ten thousand Athenians and Plateans lay at the edge of the low, and now thinly wooded, gray and green, furzy limestone mountains, which rise a mile and a half and two miles from the sea. Fifty, sixty, or, as some think, an hundred thousand Asiatics, took position on the sandy, grassy, and now partly cultivated plain, their ships on the smooth beach, or at

anchor in the green and purple of the sea toward Eubœa.

Nine days the ten thousand looked at the sixty thousand. Five Athenian generals advised battle; five dissuaded from an engagement; but the famous casting vote of Callimachus — our cause at stake — gave Miltiades on the tenth day opportunity to execute his daring plan of supplying the deficiency of his numbers by the momentum of a swift onset.

The ground over which the two miles front of the Greek line approached on a run the bowmen of the enemy in order to avoid the second, or at latest the third or fourth discharge of arrows, is nearly level. It is often represented as a slope by historians who have not visited the spot. When I sat at the summit of the mound raised over the one hundred and ninety-two of the Greek slain, a monument now only thirty-five feet high, and, as I found by measurement at the base, one hundred and sixty-six paces in circumference, the brown and green sods where that famous quickstep, the beginning of the independence of Europe, first shook the rough grass, were not above the level of my eyes. The course over which the ten thousand charged an enemy until then never conquered, and outnumbering the Greeks six to one, descends only about thirty-five feet in half a mile.

The left of the Asiatics was soon plunged into the small, south marsh, and the right into the great, north, reedy slough. But the thin centre of the Athenian line receded somewhat near this mound, until the victorious Greek wings closed upon the flanks of the Persian centre.

The north wind which moaned over the sometimes bare sand, the scanty, brown, dry grass, and the scattered thorny bushes at the flattened top of the easy slopes of this mound, now more than 2,300 years old, and the most venerable battle memorial in the world, seemed to ring, when I sat there, with the twang of the bowstrings and the rustling of the smiting shields and breaking spears which drove Asia out of Europe; while on the white, sounding, pebbly shore, a half mile distant, to which the host of the Medes was forced back, one could with small effort yet see, among the flaming oleanders, the glance of the hatchet which cut off the hand of the Athenian who attempted to capture an eighth ship after seven had been taken.

But, more distinctly than any other historic vision, could be descried that burnished shield held aloft on one of the gray spiked summits toward Athens, as an invitation to the Asiatic fleet to sail around Cape Sunium and attack the defenceless city. An American on the battle-field of Marathon, if he understands what secession was in his own country, ought of all men to be the quickest to notice this traitorous signal of the Athenian friends of the Mede, in their exhibition of that spirit of secession and division which finally ruined Greece.

The swift march of the victorious Greek army back to Athens on the day of the battle saved the city from the fleet, and was the first act in the yet unrolling history of unsubjugated Europe. When, with five mounted soldiers and five on foot, as a guard against the lately murderous Turkish brigands,

I rode over the twenty-two miles of rough ground, mountain spurs, and sandy plain covered with brown grass, arbutus, dwarf-pine, agnus vitæ, rock-rose, and odorous thyme, through which that march of wearied but invincible free citizens of what then was the only free city on the earth took its anxious course, every inch of the way flashed with a light of history not too brightly symbolized by the cool Greek morning, with its floods of solar fire on land and sea.

V.

At this point of my thoughts, the moon began to rise upon Athens. Suddenly there appeared above gray Hymettus the upper edge of the same disc which Plato, Aristotle, Demosthenes, and Pericles saw cutting this same mountain line. As seen from my position, the palpitant, silver and yellow globe came up between the two south columns of the east front of the Parthenon. I was alone with the nearly level, soft, but full radiance poured upon the most famous marbles of all time.

I had studied the Parthenon by the light of morning, in the almost torrid blaze of the Greek summer noons, and at twilight, I now found, as I had expected, that I had not seen its greatest glory, and that the Parthenon puts forth its chief enchantment only at midnight, in solitude, and by the moon.

Certainly its symmetry and strength balanced each other now as perfectly as ever; the proportions given to the marbles continued to move me, as they always had done, much as does the harmony given to sound in a great anthem.

But now, as never by day, the ravages of time were concealed ; a new aerialness and spirituality born of the new light, and a new solemnity born of the new hour, clothed the marbles with additional beauty and grace, until the temple seemed, not celestial indeed, but worthy to have been made by the best of the Greek gods in their happiest hours.

I walked slowly among the 32 columns remaining erect out of the original 46, and along the 228 feet of the length and the 101 of the breadth, and around the entire ruin ; and finally stood at a distance from the southeast corner with my back to the moon, and looking upon the whole, restoring in thought the 92 figures of the metopes, the triglyphs, the marble rain-drops ; the subdued delicate coloring on the stars under the roof and still visible on some of the traceries of the mouldings ; the $34\frac{1}{2}$ feet of height and $6\frac{1}{2}$ of diameter of each column ; the shields and wreaths of victory on their yet traceable places among the weather stains of the east front ; the 525 feet of the Panathenaic frieze, the great statue of Minerva in the Cella, the matchless Phidian groups of the birth of Minerva from the head of Jove to the east, and of the contest of Minerva with Neptune for the possession of Attica to the west pediment ; the crowded sculptures to the whole open ground of the summit of the Acropolis, the Greeks and foreigners of the Periclean age to the walls behind the columns. Assuredly the Parthenon in solitude, at midnight, and by the moon was the most beautiful human work I ever beheld. The Doric stands by sunlight, but floats by moonlight.

What Plato wrote over the door of his house ought to be written over the Portico of the Parthenon: Let no one enter here who does not understand geometry.

It is amazing that the delicate optical corrections applied to the architecture of the Parthenon were never discovered in modern times until 1837. My first act on my first visit to the Parthenon was to place my opera-glass, stretched to a height of seven inches, at one end of the upper step of the east front, and to look toward it with the eye at a level with the surface of the step 101 feet distant at the other end. I could not see the glass, because the apparently level floor is not a straight line, but a delicate curve rising some eight inches in the middle. I noticed repeatedly the same curvature on studying the upper step of the west front. There is not a straight line in the Parthenon. The finer sense of beauty possessed by the Greeks led them to perceive, as modern architects until fifty years ago had hardly done, that when inclined and horizontal lines of considerable length are closely contrasted with each other, as they are in the floor and the columns, and especially in the base and slope of the triangle of the gable edges of the Parthenon, they look curved if made perfectly straight, and appear straight if they are delicately curved. Accordingly the line of the base of the gable and of the top of the steps is slightly convex; all the outer pillars lean a little inward; the columns would meet at a great height above the Parthenon, if indefinitely prolonged; the outer edges of all the flutings are convex curves, as I saw again and

again by looking along the edge of a fluting from the base; and yet every one of these lines at a distance appears straight.

It will be found that a long straight line always appears bent when a long curved line is drawn near it.

The tangent to a large circle seems to be bent away from the curvature of the circle. The chord of a circle appears distorted by the arc. In the triangle of the pediment of a Greek temple, the long sloping line of the roof, and the long horizontal line of the base, have nearly the same relation to each other as the arc of a circle and its chord.

The Medelaine, at Paris, sometimes superficially said to be constructed on the plan of the Parthenon, is built with straight lines, and every one of its longer dimensions appears slightly distorted, according to this law. I have looked across the steps of the front and found them perfectly level; but the steps at a distance appear as if sunken six or eight inches at the centre. The lower line of the gable of the Madeleine is horizontal, but appears concave, as it would not do if it had been made slightly convex.

A young English architect, Pennethorne, shutting himself up in the Parthenon week after week, in 1837, discovered the subtle laws of its structure. German architects noticed them the next year. The elaborate work of Penrose on Athenian architecture has now described them with mathematical accuracy. A most important passage of Vitruvius, once poorly understood, is at last unlocked. It unlocks the Parthenon. "The stylobate," says this military engi-

neer of Julius Cæsar, "ought not to be constructed upon the horizontal level, but should rise gradually from the ends toward the centre, so as to leave there a small addition. The inconvenience which might arise from a stylobate thus constructed may be obviated by means of unequal scamilli. If the line of the stylobate were perfectly horizontal, it would appear like the bed of a channel. In placing the capitals upon the shafts of the columns, they are not to be arranged so that the abaci may be in the same horizontal level, but must follow the direction of the upper members of the epistylum, which will deviate from the straight line drawn from the extreme parts in proportion to the addition given to the centre of the stylobate." "The columns at the angles, as well as those which are intended to be placed in the flanks, should have their axes inclined so that the faces next the walls of the Cella may become perpendicular to the stylobate."

I was never weary of studying these optical corrections and refinements, unrecognized for centuries in both the theory and practice of the grosser modern mind, although here articulately described by Vitruvius, and displayed everywhere in the Parthenon as a part of the artistic requirements of the more refined instinct of the ancient Greek mind, the subtlety and delicacy of which they exhibit to the humiliation of this latest century, and as almost nothing else does, outside the severest analyses of Aristotle, the most ingenious of the dialogues of Plato, and the best orations of Demosthenes.

VI.

I was yet to see the illumination of the Parthenon at midnight, by the high and the westering moon, by morning twilight, and by sunrise. While waiting for these scenes, I found not an object in the great outlook that did not draw nearer by night than by day. Lycabettus, Hymettus, Pentelicus, Parnes, Salamis, Ægina, the pass of Daphne, the groves of the Cephissus and Ilissus, the slopes of the Museum Hill and of the Pnyx, the theatre, the pillars of the Temple of Jupiter, could be read better than obscurely in the mild light; but the history of all these sounded in the now hushed air more audibly than ever at noon. Nor did the newest Athens itself fail to send its keen breath to the heights of the Parthenon.

I leaned over the parapet of the Acropolis, on the side toward the modern city, and looked in vain for the print of that Venetian leprous sandal and that Turkish hoof which for six hundred years trod Greece into the slime. In the long bondage to the barbarian, the Hellenic spirit was weakened, but not broken. The Greek, with his fine texture, loathes the stolid, opaque greasiness of the Turkish, polygamistic temperament. Intermarriages between the races were very few. In spite of the theory of Fallmerayer, — whose name, as an authority for the assertion that the Greek race is extinct, puts any scholar of Athens into a rage, — it must be said that the modern Greek blood is more than half Hellenic. Only the Hellenic blood explains Hellenic countenances, yet easily

found; the Hellenic language, yet wonderfully uncorrupt; and the Hellenic spirit, omnipresent in liberated Greece.

Forty years ago not a book could be bought at Athens. To-day one in eighteen of the whole population of Greece is in school. Fifty years of independence, and the Hellenic spirit has doubled the population of Greece, increased her revenues five hundred per cent., extended telegraphic communication over the kingdom, enlarged the fleet from 440 to 5,000 vessels, opened eight ports, founded eleven new cities, restored forty ruined towns, changed Athens from a hamlet of hovels to a city of 60,000 inhabitants, and planted there a royal palace, a Legislative Chamber, six type foundries, forty printing establishments, twenty newspapers, an astronomical observatory, and a university, with fifty professors and twelve hundred students. King Otho's German court, when he came from Nauplia to Athens in 1835, lived at first in a shed that kept out neither the rain nor the north wind. On Constitution Place, in Athens, in 1843, the Hellenic spirit, without violence, and by the display of force for but a few hours, substituted for personal power in Greece a constitutional government as free as that of England. George Finlay, the historian of the Greek Revolution, and who fought in it, affirms that, even before that event, degraded as the people were politically, a larger proportion could read and write than among any other Christian race in Europe. Undoubtedly long bondage, acting on the native adroitness of the race, taught the Greeks disingen-

uousness, — the old blood produced an Alcibiades as well as a Socrates, a Cleon as well as a Phocion ; there was in it, as in American veins to-day, a tendency to social, commercial, and political sharp-dealing. But, after fifty years of independence, the Hellenic spirit devotes a larger percentage of public revenue to purposes of instruction than France, Italy, England, Germany, or even the United States. Modern Greece, fifty years ago a slave and a beggar, to-day, by the confession of the most merciless statisticians, stands at the head of the list of self-educated nations.

Railways, as even the less sanguine at Athens now hope, must at no very distant period cut the Isthmus of Corinth and the green, fat Bœotian plain, and bring the western Patras and northern Larissa into communication with Athens. Possibly the Piræus, or Cape Sunium, and not Brindisi, may one day become the point of departure from Europe of mails to the East from London, Berlin, and St. Petersburg. Greece desires to connect a Larissa railway with a Turkish railway soon to pierce the iron gates of the Danube.

Politically impracticable as the aspiration may appear, the omnipresent Hellenic whispered idea is that Greece must ultimately possess Constantinople. England, with selfish and self-complacent sneers on her lips, and fear of Russia in her heart, often superficially ridicules this scheme, which America regards with sympathy. William Pitt said, in 1792, that the true doctrine of the balance of power in the East of Europe was that the influence of Russia should

not be allowed to increase, nor that of Turkey to decline. Wellington called the confirmation of Greek independence by the victory at Navarino an untoward event. Daniel Webster and Henry Clay, however, — whose deaths were as sincerely mourned in Greece as in America, — hailed that battle as the triumph of a sister people in a struggle which the United States were the first among nations to encourage officially.

George Canning hoped, and Athens has not ceased to dream, that a regenerated Greece might, from Constantinople, regenerate all the now subject Greek races on both shores of the *Ægean*. Of the 15,000,000 of the population of European Turkey, less than 4,000,000 are Ottomans ; the rest — Slavonians, Greeks, Wallachians, Albanians — profess the Greek religion or speak the Greek dialect. Demosthenes, Miltiades, Themistocles, it may be presumed, would adopt the Hellenic idea if in Greece to-day ; but, as a late American ambassador at Athens affirms, these men are remembered by the modern Greek as if they were yesterday in the Acropolis. In polyglot Turkey there are peoples, but no people. To-day it is calculated that counting by individuals, the Greeks in European Turkey are to the Turks as six to one ; but, estimating them by their wealth, they are as thirty to one. In view of these facts, few statesmen now think Turkish power in Europe destined to endure a century. Already Greek merchants lead the commercial affairs of Constantinople, and possess the carrying trade of Turkey and the Levant. In Manchester, Liverpool, and London it is proverbial that, as mer-

chants, the few Greeks are even more brilliantly successful than Scotchmen. Meanwhile, rich Greeks endow schools, libraries, and academies of art at Athens. They long to give this city intellectual primacy on the Ægean. The Hellenic spirit burns abroad from Athens upon the wide, languid East. Cornelius Felton affirms that he conversed on Mars Hill with a street lad, who, in twenty minutes, except the word *café*, did not use a word that would not have been good Greek in the days of Pericles. So astonishing has been the success of efforts to improve the modern dialect, that Demosthenes' language now flows through daily life at the foot of the Acropolis so little adulterated that the students of the university, pronouncing Greek as we do not, give popular exhibitions of the tragedies of Sophocles and the comedies of Aristophanes, without the change of a syllable.

VII.

Walking to the southeast corner of the Acropolis, I looked down upon the great Dionysiæ theatre, uncovered in 1862 by Hofbaurath Strack's German shovels. Some of the marble chairs, a few of the statues, half the seats, a multitude of the inscriptions, are still in their places. On one of the white thrones there is a lion's foot, sculptured perhaps in Hadrian's time, and with the tip of the claw yet savagely sharp. Socrates once ironically commended Agathon, a poet, for having exhibited his wisdom in this theatre, or at least at this place, before 30,000 spectators. Some 20,000 or 30,000 people were accustomed to assemble at dawn here, in a semicircle cut

in the slope of the Acropolis, and to listen to tragedies the voice of which, even now, as we read them, is to the ear of thought a majestic philosophical or theological anthem. Æschylus and Sophocles and Euripides so taught ethics and religion that the stage in the ancient Athenian democracy must be compared to the pulpit in modern times. Never was it the frivolous and sometimes filthy thing which is to-day called a theatre. Beneath the shadow of the Parthenon and of Minerva herself, the free people sat down, as Æschylus says, "under the wings of gods." Along the beach at Phalerus, where Demosthenes declaimed to the waves, and beneath the sharp hills of Ægina and Salamis, the blue sea palpitated before the spectators. The chief part of the Ilissus plain, Mount Hymettus, the ancient Agora and Pnyx, and numberless temples were in view. Above the unroofed amphitheatre hung the infinite depth of the mysteriously soft and bright sky of Greece. Subtle allusions to this outlook, abounding in Euripides, Æschylus, and Sophocles, prove curiously in detail that here Greek poetry, in the early spring mornings, found earth, sea, sky, and historic monuments a most organizing inspiration, and fit to match an audience composed of all that was then the most brilliant in the world.

VIII.

Only one mile from the Acropolis, as, returning slowly to the Parthenon, I looked outward over the Cephissus plain, gleamed in the moonlight the marble shaft above Ottfried Müller's grave, on the hill

Colonus. A rifle shot to the left of this rustled the olive groves and vineyards on the spot supposed to have been occupied by Plato's Academy. There flowed the Cephissus, giving fatness to its else sterile plain as the Nile to Egypt, and fatness almost as if of Egypt, lading the thick boughs of pomegranate, fig, and olive, as they bend thirstily over the narrow stream. When I walked on its banks, pomegranate blossoms filled their redness with the sunbeams until they seemed themselves luminous. Olives threw the silver edges of their foliage into the breast of the Salamis wind. Young figs, cherries, quinces, apricots, lay cool under the thick green of the boughs, that drew from the yellow banks the sap of ripeness. Plato's farm lay not far away. The gardens were ridged everywhere for the irrigating streams, which, nearer the sea, almost exhaust the water of the river. Not far from Plato's Academy I found the bed of the stream, in June, seven feet below the top of the bank and the whole pebbly and sandy channel twenty-five feet wide. There were about nine feet breadth by six inches depth of clear water, but it was scattered waywardly here and there in its wide channel by its considerably strong current, and I walked easily across the stream where the vegetation was heaviest.

Plato's Academy was a garden of walks and colonnades and marble lecture-rooms open to the sky, in a sea of gardens. He was attracted hither not only by the beauty of the place, but by the crowd of pupils that was here before his time. The critics and ancient authors make the identity of the spot

with that of Plato's school very clear ; the place is yet called Academy ; I found five intelligent country people on the plain who, separately and from different spots, pointed it out to me by that name. As I entered these Plato grounds, I found myself facing an embowered, large, stucco garden-house and looking down a covered arcade 150 feet in length, its top laden with heavy grape clusters. Here were pomegranates, oranges, lemons, cacti, the pepper-tree, peaches, apricots ; the red oleander shot up to an enormous size ; even the proverbial darkness of the foliage of the cypress acquired an additional vigor and gloss of duskiness. There are no ruins left of the Academy, unless four round pillars, about ten inches in diameter, of unfluted, rough gray stone, projecting from a garden bed to a height of some four feet, and without capitals, are to be taken as such. A few sad pieces of broken sculpture, some of it delicately chiselled and evidently very ancient, have been built into the wall of a cistern near the garden-house : a tiger's head and a human figure with a harp are the best of these fragments, which very possibly may have been a part of the ornaments of the splendid walks existing here in Plato's day. Bird songs filled the fragrant air ; but the spiritual posture of listening, loitering ease was impossible without sacrilege. When the voices of pupils and teachers were heard here, and the intellectual atmosphere flashed those lightnings which have illuminated now twenty centuries, this was not a place to loiter in ; but rather one where the sleep of the brain should have been like that of a top, the rest of infinite motion. Plato's brain plainly had no other rest than that.

Plato's philosophy, like his own nature, solves many contradictions by its largeness, and leaves many unsolved because its largeness was not wholeness. If Aristotle lacks Plato's height of soul, Plato lacks Aristotle's realistic tendency. If Plato had too much wing and too little force in the clasping and tearing talons, Aristotle had too little force in the wings, although none too much in the talons. Socrates, who invented Definition and Ethics, the former as an instrument in the latter, was a more massive and more nearly whole nature than either of the two, in spite of traces of uncouthness. Although inferior to each in many points of culture, his rough growth, the core of which is olive wood of as fine a grain as is to be found in Plato or Aristotle, is denser than theirs, and outweighs either of them bulk for bulk. Socrates is the sap of both Plato and Aristotle, so that he lives yet in the spiritual boughs of this Academy, which have spread so widely and rustled now so long that it may perhaps be said the branches will have no heavier storms to ride through than they have already met without breaking. This is the most moving thought at the Academy and at the Lyceum, — Academy, Lyceum, very modern words! — that while a thousand other philosophies have perished, that of Plato or Aristotle had such worth that after twenty centuries it seems likely never to be forgotten, except in some retrogression of the culture of the race. Aristotle and Plato, and not the mythological shoots which Xerxes burnt on the Acropolis, were the true sacred olives of Athens; and the world has filled its plains with slips and

grafts taken from their boughs; and yet that fruit is best which is not wholly Plato's, nor wholly Aristotle's, but born of the sap of both flowing together in scions grafted into a certain Vine, older than they and younger, and which has its roots — not in Attica, but in the world to which all men haste!

IX.

It was impossible, in looking off from the Acropolis as midnight drew near, not to dwell long on the Pnyx and the Bema, on the northwest slope of the Museum Hill, over against the Parthenon to the southwest. The famous semicircle, where governments of the people, for the people, by the people, through public speech, began, slopes from the Bema until the lower side of the field is eighteen or twenty feet less elevated than the base of the speaker's platform, and yet its corners to the right and left of the speaker are ten or twelve feet higher than that base. The wall buttressing the lower part of the field is of cyclopean, roughly bevelled, polygonal stones. I measured in it blocks eight and twelve feet long by six and seven wide and four and five thick. The structure at one point is yet sixteen feet high, and if it was ever high enough to make the ground above it level, must have risen to an elevation of thirty-five or forty feet. The upper edge of the field is cut away, leaving a face of stone in places sixteen feet high, and from this at the centre of the semicircle projects the rock of the Bema, continuous with the scarped ledge. This majestic speaker's platform rose nine feet above the field in which the audience

sat or stood, and was eleven feet wide from side to side, and seven feet deep from front to back. A minor, lower and broader platform was in front of it, and nine steps ascended it on the left and on the right.

I gazed alone from the Acropolis on this gray, open, solitary pasture as it gleamed under the moon; the audiences of 6,000 were not wholly unseen in the air; Pericles, Æschines moved among the ghosts; and from the Bema northward looked Demosthenes, his eyes fastened on Philip of Macedon.

Whoever would appreciate Athenian oratory must keep in the foreground of his thoughts the immense contrast between the opportunities of ancient and modern public address.

In Demosthenes' day there were no newspapers. The oration in Greece and Rome occupied the place of the modern editorial, and, to a great degree, of the telegraphic dispatch. Think of the occasion when Cicero appeared in the Forum to announce in a speech that Catiline had left the city. How vastly would the circumstances have been altered if newspapers had that morning previously appeared with the intelligence and appropriate leading articles. The Roman Forum and the Greek Bema were without the rival of the public press.

Audiences in the Pnyx commonly numbered from 5,000 to 7,000. In cases of highest moment, no law could be passed unless 6,000 votes in its favor were deposited in the urns. Citizens were dissuaded by the famous vermilion colored cord from absence from the assemblies. That Athenian custom of sweeping

the Agora with a rope chalked with red, and fining all who received a mark and were careless of their political duties, is to be imitated yet by other methods in republican governments, if these latter are to endure. The chief danger of good men in a republic is their tendency to abstain from political painstaking except in cases of great importance. In Athens freemen had practically instituted, as they yet will in America, compulsory voting.

The structure of the Athenian law courts obliged every accused citizen to defend himself by a speech before a jury, and thus made oratory indispensable to success in any prominent career. Others besides Socrates were obliged to defend themselves by a speech before a jury. Grote says that the nature of the Athenian courts was such that oratory was as needful to every citizen as weapons to a soldier in war.

Hence the abundant attention to rhetoric and logic in the ancient Athenian schools. The Athenian rhetorician was necessitated by the Athenian law court. These civil habits made the Athenians better judges of excellence in public speaking than any other collective people has ever been, or now seems likely to be. The standards of excellence in public oratorical discussion were varied until speeches like those of Demosthenes, which no audience in America, except the Senate or Supreme Court, could follow easily, were not only not unappreciated by the mass of the immense audience in the Pnyx, but inexorably demanded. There will not soon come another day like that.

These were the true secrets of the merit of Athe-

nian oratory, aside from the native traits of the Greek mind. Too much has been said superficially of the objects visible from the Bema, as if they were the principal source of Athenian eloquence. I can give them only a secondary value as a means of inspiration; and yet what vigor lay in even this subordinate incitement. Salamis and the sea almost within view, the Acropolis and Parthenon on the lofty right-hand outlook, the Agora on the low left-hand, the city in front, Marathon beyond Pentelicus, the Academy among the olive groves in the Cephissus plain, the sacred road to Eleusis gleaming out from the pass of Daphne, temples to the supreme deities on all the hills; Cytherus, Parnes, Pentelicus, and Hymettus looking down on the orator; the burial field of all who fell in Athenian wars, except the dead of Marathon, before him in the Athenian plain; 6,000 cultivated freemen within the reach of his voice, — what solemnity must have existed in Demosthenes' appeals here to "yonder Propylea, that Parthenon, those Porticos and Docks," "to those to whom Athens granted burial — all brave men," and "to the earth and the gods!"

Undoubtedly a high rank among the incitements is due to the religious spirit which opened the debates with lustrations and prayers, watched the clouds during the assemblies, and, on important occasions, dissolved the gatherings if lightning or thunder, or even rain, seemed to indicate that the unseen world looked angrily on the people. "A portent! for I felt a drop of rain," wrote one of the listeners here. It is incalculable what political influence the awe of

the unseen had in all Greek history. No one understands the assemblies to which Demosthenes spoke, until the invisible becomes as real to him as it was to an Athenian.

It was now midnight on the Acropolis, and the unseen was more visible in the hushed solitude than the seen. The Parthenon restored itself; the marbles stolen away were lifted to their sublime places. The gates of the Propylea, once more on their hinges, were flung wide open. Up the sacred ascent poured with faces of fire flashing armor, music, and incense, the shadowy leagues of a Panathenaic procession. On Mars Hill stood Paul, on the Bema Demosthenes, each more victorious, historically, than ever was Minerva of the shield and spear, and the eyes of both now fastened on Europe and America beyond the West. Aristotle looked on the Ilissus fretting the rocky grounds of the Lyceum; on the telescopic tube opened in the tireless eye of the observatory; and on the University in the sleeping modern city. Plato, in the night, hovered above the olives of the Academy, and with extended hand blessed the church spires beneath the moon. Among the pillars of the Parthenon, and whiter than they, moved and whispered Phidias, Pericles, Æschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, and multitudinous forms unknown. Above the Salamis Strait, a transfigured cloud of souls glanced upon a new earth. On the blue sea flashed swift Phœnician sails. To and fro over the rock-cuttings of the Cecropian and Cranaan city moved noiseless men from Ionia, Mythia, Caria, and Phrygia. From the unseen Marathon came the

sounds the Greeks heard there at midnight, and glided softly a wind from Troy. Socrates seemed to step colossal through the night beneath the stars, and wherever his feet touched Athens, the rock shook and the earth flamed.

Greece was intended to do what it has done. What God meant to accomplish in the world by the Greeks is to be known by what He has accomplished. This race was sent to teach Philosophy, Eloquence, and Art; we know that this was its mission, because this has been its history. What Providence does, it from the first intends. When as yet Rome was not, it was therefore certain that Greece would teach Rome. When the majestic precipices rose at Delphi, it was already sure that the Castalian spring at their base would flow into all the earth, and cool the thirsting lips of culture through twenty centuries. When the blocks of the Parthenon were hewn from Mt. Pentelicus, it had been immemorially fixed in the order of the world that this temple should be visible to educated thought to the last ages and from the remotest lands. What Greece has done for the latest born of time in Europe and America through Socrates, Phidias, Pericles, Euripides, Demosthenes, Plato, and Aristotle, is what these men, advancing as a plan from the first, arriving as facts and now advancing as memories, were from the first intended to do. "The plan of Jove was being accomplished," sings Homer, in the sublimest line of the *Iliad*. But we now see in that plan a score of centuries which were invisible to Homer, although already prearranged in his day; and the end is not yet. Greek culture is

the left arm of God visibly let down into history, as Christian culture is the right arm. As once on Lebanon at noon listening to Jewish history, so in the Parthenon at midnight listening to Grecian history, I heard but one voice, God! God! God! who was, who is, and who is to come!

XI.

Two of the delicately carved, marble, sacred chairs stand yet in the Cella of the Parthenon; and when the midnight watch had passed, I lay down before one of them on the marble floor. An old soldier from the guard-house at the gates of the Acropolis found me: "E freddo," he said kindly, with his hand on the stone. "Va bene," I replied, and prepared myself to sleep sitting in the chair. But he brought me a strong, thick blanket, and went away with payment. I lay down at the centre of the Cella before the chair and slept by snatches. Now and then I was wide awake, and each time the scene was changed.

XII.

When the morning-star began to pale, the city was stiller than at midnight. Between Hymettus and Pentelicus a wonderful sky, all soul and not sky, showed the earliest golden tint of day. A bee passed, as if on his way to Hymettus or the Ilissus. I ascended the winding stairs and sat at the very top of the west point of the Parthenon, above the columns, at the corner toward the Bema. The indescribable depth of soul in the Eastern sky, and in the colors of a crystalline fineness of texture, that I never


saw except in Greece, deepened as a light sea-breeze began to move toward the sun. A nearly imperceptible mist trailed along the east slope of Parnes; a delicate level cloud hung below the top of Pentelicus; about Cytherus there was rolling vapor, but elsewhere none. The fair, scarless city began to roll its wheels. A kestrel above the east end of the Acropolis balanced in the morning light. A raven flew out toward the sea. The solitary mists took scarlet irradiation. The moon grew pale above Ægina. A kestrel screamed in the Parthenon. Pentelicus threw the sharp, dark blue outline of its grace against a silver and golden sky. A light breeze from the Salamis and the Cephissus olives had in it indescribable freshness. This was the hour when assemblies gathered at the Pnyx; and now on its slope the ghosts did not disperse at the dawn. Cytherus, Parnes, Pentelicus, Hymettus, the pass of Daphne, the sacred road to Eleusis, were full of hosts which did not flee, as, flooding them all, came forth the same sun which Homer saw. The eyes that had looked on Philip of Macedon continued to look on America. With the westering rays, however, and caught up into the advancing beams, the invisible hosts moved forward; and the gleaming inner light of historic souls, authors of the world's intellectual culture, began, with the hours of awakened human memory, their daily circuit of the earth.

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The Bibliotheca Sacra for January, 1880.

The Boston Monday Lectureship is now in its fifth year. One hundred and thirty-five lectures on abstruse and difficult topics have been delivered to noon audiences of extraordinary size, and containing sometimes two hundred ministers, with large numbers of teachers and other educated men. Each lecture has been preceded by a short address, called a Prelude on Current Events, and discussing some topic of urgent political or religious importance, like civil service reform, temperance, fraud in elections, Mormonism, the Chinese question, the Bible in schools, the Indian question, or the negro exodus. In revising the stenographic reports, both the lecture and the prelude are usually somewhat expanded by their author, so that a prelude in print is often more than thirty minutes in length. The lecturer has thus treated two important topics on each occasion; and the contrast of the practical matter of the prelude with the more speculative and scientific substance of the lecture, has assisted in fixing public attention upon both. Mr. Cook has been the first speaker to employ preludes in this contrast with theological and metaphysical lectures.

Great pains have been taken to secure the fullest information for the preludes from official sources at Washington and elsewhere. The committee in charge of the Boston Monday Lectureship embraces thirty-six members, of whom twelve are an Executive Board, representing different evangelical denominations in Boston, and twenty-four are scattered through the country all the way to Cali-

fornia. Written permission to add their names to the committee has been given by such men as President McCosh of Princeton College, Professor Hitchcock of New York, Dr. Storrs of Brooklyn, Bishop Huntington of Syracuse, Professor Mead of Oberlin College, Professor Curtiss of Chicago Theological Seminary, Dr. Post of St. Louis, and Drs. Gibson and Stone of San Francisco. It will readily be seen that consultation from time to time by letter with so large and distinguished a committee, and with other public men with whom the lecturer forms acquaintance in his extensive travel, together with the opportunity of wide personal observation, makes the preludes an important source of suggestions as to current reform, and a most useful means of discussing popular evils as they arise. The independence of the platform adds to the effect of its treatment of living issues. It is noticeable, that, in both the Scotch and English republications of Mr. Cook's volumes, the preludes are included in full. It is believed that no leading articles in any newspaper in England or America are so extensively copied by the press as the preludes of the Boston Monday Lectureship. Each one is intended to be a compact prose sonnet, discussing current events from the religious point of view.

The thirty lectures delivered in the second year of the lectureship, which was founded in 1875, are comprised in the three volumes entitled "Biology," "Transcendentalism," and "Orthodoxy." The results of the third year of the lectureship are embraced in the volumes entitled "Conscience," "Heredity," and "Marriage." Those of the fourth year are summarized in the books called "Labor" and "Socialism," now in press. It is understood that the present series of lectures will make two more volumes, to be entitled "Culture" and "Miracles."

During the third year of the lectureship, Mr. Cook gave six lectures in New York City, besides speaking in most of the prominent cities of the North-eastern States. In the season of 1878 and 1879, he conducted a Boston Monday-noon Lectureship and a New York Thursday-evening Lectureship at the same time. In his course of the preceding year in New York City, he had been introduced by presiding officers like Professor Hitchcock, Dr. William Adams, Professor Schraff, and William Cullen Bryant, and the audiences were extraordinarily large. On the closing evening of his second course in New York, some two hundred people were turned away, unable to find standing-room, and the money for their tickets was refunded. In the spring and summer succeeding the last full course of the lectureship, he visited California, and performed a service at the dedication of a chapel in the Yosemite Valley. He studied and discussed Mormonism in Salt Lake City, and the Chinese question in California.

In the year ending July 4, 1878, Mr. Cook delivered one hundred and fifty lectures: sixty in the East, ten of them in New York City, and sixty in the West; besides thirty new lectures in Boston, which were published in that city, New York, and London; issued three volumes, one of which is now in its sixteenth and another in its thirteenth edition; and travelled, on his lecture-trips, ten thousand five hundred miles.

In the year ending July 4, 1879, he delivered one hundred and sixty lectures; seventy-two in the East, twenty of them in Boston and ten in New York, seventy in the West, five in Canada, two in Utah, and eleven in California, of which five were in San Francisco.

He twice crossed the continent in the last four months of the season, and in the last nine months has travelled, on his lecture-trips, twelve thousand five hundred miles. In the former of these seasons he addressed large audiences in sixteen, and in the latter in seventeen, college towns.

It is worth noting that Mr. Cook has no church nor parish work on his hands, although he not infrequently speaks in a church on Sundays. Living opposite the Boston Athenæum Library, and using it as much as though it were his own, the lecturer has found time, outside of all his other work, to carry through the press, in three years, the eight volumes of Monday Lectures, issued by Houghton, Osgood, & Co.

Mr. Cook had a previous preparation of at least ten years' study, at home and abroad, for the discussion of the relations of Christianity to the sciences.

"The New York Independent" owns the copyright of the present series of lectures, and sells the right of republication to other papers. There are now published, and have been for the last two years, over one hundred thousand newspaper copies of the Boston Monday Lectures and preludes in full, and over three hundred thousand copies of the preludes and parts of the lectures. The Committee of the Boston Monday Lectureship reported in March last, that, at a moderate estimate, more than a million readers in the United States and Great Britain are reached weekly.

In September, 1880, Mr. Cook intends to suspend his American lectures for a year, at least, and to seek opportunity for rest and study in England and Germany.

President James McCosh, Princeton College, in the Catholic Presbyterian for September, 1879.

What influence I may have had on Mr. Cook, I do not know; but I am pleased to notice that on intuition and several other subjects, he is promulgating to thousands the same views I had been thinking out in my study, and propounding to my students, in Belfast and in Princeton. From scattered notices, I gather that he was born (in 1838) and reared, and still lives in his leisure days, in that region in which the loveliest of American lakes, Lake Champlain and Lake George, lie embosomed among magnificent mountains. He was trained for college at Phillips Academy, under the great classical teacher, Dr. Taylor; was two years at Yale College, and two years at Harvard, graduating at the latter in 1865, first in philosophy and rhetoric of his class. He then joined Andover Theological Seminary, went through the regular three-years' course there, and lingered a year longer at that place, pondering deeply the relations of science and religion, which continued to be the theme of his thoughts and his study for the next ten years. At this stage he received much impulse from Professor Park, who requires every student to reason out and to defend his opinions; and many sound philosophic principles from Sir William Hamilton and other less eminent men of the Scottish school. He spoke from time to time at religious meetings, and was for one year the pastor of a Congregational church, but never sought a settlement. In September, 1871, he went abroad, and studied for two years, under special directions from Tholuck, at Halle, Berlin, and Heidelberg; and received a mighty influence from Julius Muller of Halle, Dörner of Berlin, Kuno Fischer of Heidelberg, and Hermann Lotze of Gottingen. He then

travelled for a time in Italy, Egypt, Syria, Greece, Turkey, Switzerland, France, England, and Scotland. Returning to the United States in 1873, he took up his residence in Boston, and became a lecturer in New England on the subject to which his studies had been so long directed, the relations of religion and science. For a time he lectured at Amherst College; and, while doing so, he was invited to conduct noon meetings in Boston.

Mr. Cook did not take up the work he has accomplished, as a trade, or by accident, or from impulse; but for years he had been preparing for it, and prepared for it by an overruling guidance. I regard Joseph Cook as a Heaven-ordained man. He comes at the fit time; that is, at the time he is needed. He comes forth in Boston, which is undoubtedly the most literary city in America, and one of the great literary cities of the world. I am not sure that even Edinburgh can match it, now that London is drawing towards it and gathering up the intellectual youth of Scotland. It has a character of its own in several respects. I have here to speak only of its religious character. Half a century ago its Orthodoxy had sunk into Unitarianism — a re-action against a formal Puritanism — led by Channing, who adorned his bald system by his high personal character and the eloquence of his style. People could not long be satisfied by a negation, and Parkerism followed; and a convulsive life was thrown into the skeleton of natural religion by an *a priori* speculation, derived from the pretentious philosophies of Germany, in which the Absolute took the place of God, and untested intuition the place of the Bible. The movement culminated in Ralph Waldo Emerson, a feebler but a more lovable Thomas Carlyle, — the one coming out of a decaying Puritanism, the other out of a decaying Covenantanterism. But those who would mount to heaven in a balloon have sooner or later to come down to earth. The young men of Harvard College, led by their able president, have more taste for the new physical science, with its developments, than for a visionary metaphysics. As I remarked some time ago in a literary organ, Unitarianism has died, and is laid out for decent burial. Meanwhile there is a marked revival of Evangelism, and the Congregational and Episcopal churches have as much thoughtfulness and culture as the Unitarians. Harvard now cares as little for Unitarianism as it does for Evangelism — simply taking care that Orthodoxy does not rule over its teaching. But the question arises, What are our young men to believe in these days when Darwinism and Spencerism and Evolutionism are taught in our journals, in our schools, and in our colleges? To my knowledge, this question is as anxiously put by Unitarian parents of the old school, who cling firmly to the great truths of natural religion, and to the Bible as a teacher of morality, as it is by the Orthodox.

Such was the state of thought and feeling, of belief and unbelief, of apprehension and of desire, when Joseph Cook came to Boston without any flourish of trumpets preceding him. Numbers were prepared to welcome him as soon as they knew what the man was, and what he was aiming at. Orthodox ministers, not very well able themselves to wrestle with the new forms of infidelity, rejoiced in the appearance of one who had as much power of eloquence as Parker, and vastly more acquaintance with philosophy than the mystic Emerson, and who seemed to know what truth and what error there are in these doctrines of development and heredity. The best of the Unitarians, not knowing whither their sons were drifting

were pleased to find one who could keep them from open infidelity. Young men, tired of old rationalism, which they saw to be very irrational, delighted to listen to one who evidently spoke boldly and sincerely, and could talk to them of these theories about evolution and the origin of species and the nature of man. The consequence was, his audiences increased from year to year. He first lectured in the Meionaon in 1875. The attendance at noon on Mondays was so large that his meetings had to be transferred to Park-street Church in October, 1876; and finally, in 1876-77, in 1877-78 and 1879, to the enormous Tremont Temple, which is often crowded to excess. In the audience there were at times two hundred ministers, many teachers, and other educated persons. His lectures, in whole or in abstract, appeared in leading newspapers, and his fame spread over all America; and, continuing his Monday addresses in Boston, he was invited, on the other days of the week, to lecture all over the country. He now lectures in the principal cities from the Atlantic to the Pacific, always drawing a large and approving audience.

Some scientific sciolists have thrown out doubts as to the accuracy of his knowledge, but have not been able to detect him in any misstatement of fact. He lightens and thunders, throwing a vivid light on a topic by an expression or comparison, or striking a presumptuous error as by a bolt from heaven. He is not afraid to discuss the most abstract, scientific, or philosophic themes before a popular audience; he arrests his hearers first by his earnestness, then by the clearness of his exposition, and fixes the whole in the mind by the earnestness of his moral purpose.

Rev. Professor A. P. Peabody, of Harvard University, in the Independent.

Joseph Cook is a phenomenon to be accounted for. No other American orator has done what he has done, or any thing like it; and, prior to the experiment, no voice would have been bold enough to predict its success.

We reviewed Mr. Cook's "Lectures on Biology" with unqualified praise. In the present volume we find tokens of the same genius, the same intensity of feeling, the same lightning flashes of impassioned eloquence, the same vise-like hold on the rapt attention and absorbing interest of his hearers and readers. We are sure that we are unbiased by the change of subject; for, though we dissent from some of the dogmas which the author recognizes in passing, there is hardly one of his consecutive trains of thought in which we are not in harmony with him, or one of his skirmishes in which our sympathies are not wholly on his side.

Rev. Dr. Thomas Hill, Ex-President of Harvard University, in the Christian Register.

These lectures are crowded so full of knowledge, of thought, of argument, illumined with such passages of eloquence and power, spiced so frequently with deep-cutting though good-natured irony, that I could make no abstract from them without utterly mutilating them.

Professor Francis Bowen, Harvard University.

I do not know of any work on conscience in which the true theory of ethics is so clearly and forcibly presented, together with the logical inferences from it in support of the great truths of religion.

The Princeton Review.

Mr. Cook has already become famous; and these lectures are among the chief works that have, and we may say justly, made him so. Their celebrity is due partly to the place and circumstances of their delivery, but still more to their inherent power, without which no adventitious aids could have lifted them into the deserved prominence they have attained. . . . Mr. Cook is a great master of analysis. . . . The lecture on the Atonement is generally just, able, and unanswerable. . . . We think, on the whole, that Mr. Cook shows singular justness of view in his manner of treating the most difficult and perplexing themes; for example, God in natural law, and the Trinity.

Boston Daily Advertiser.

At high noon on Monday, Tremont Temple was packed to suffocation and overflowing, although five thousand people were in the Tabernacle at the same hour. The Temple audience consisted chiefly of men, and was of distinguished quality, containing hundreds of persons well known in the learned professions. Wendell Phillips, Edward Everett Hale, Bronson Alcott, and many other citizens of eminence, sat on the platform. No better proof than the character of the audience could have been desired to show that Mr. Cook's popularity as a lecturer is not confined to the evangelical denominations. (Feb. 7.)

It is not often that Boston people honor a public lecturer so much as to crowd to hear him at the noon-tide of a week-day; and, when it does this month after month, the fact is proof positive that his subject is one of engrossing interest. Mr. Cook, perhaps more than any gentleman in the lecture-field the past few years, has been so honored. (Feb. 14.)

The Independent.

We know of no man that is doing more to-day to show the reasonableness of Christianity, and the unreasonableness of unbelief; nor do we know of any one who is doing it with such admirable tolerance yet dramatic intensity.

Professor Borden P. Bowne, of Boston University, in the Sunday Afternoon.

In the chapters on the theories of life, these discussions are, in many respects, models of argument; and the descriptions of the facts under discussion are often unrivalled for both scientific exactness and rhetorical adequacy of language. In the present state of the debate there is no better manual of the argument than the work in hand. The emptiness of the mechanical explanation of life was never more clearly shown.

The Bibliotheca Sacra.

There is no other work on biology, there is no other work on theology, with which this volume of lectures can well be compared; it is a book that no biologist, whether an originator or a mere middle-man in science, would ever have written. Traversing a very wide field, cutting right across the territories of rival specialists, it contains not one important scientific misstatement, either of fact or theory. Not only the propositions, but the dates, the references, the names, and the histories of scientific discoveries and speculations, are presented as they are found in the sources whence they are taken, or, at least, with only verbal and minor changes.

The Eclectic Magazine.

It may be said unqualifiedly that the pulpit has never brought such comprehensiveness and precision of knowledge, combined with such logical and literary skill, to the discussion of the questions raised by the supposed tendency of biological discovery.

The Advance, Chicago.

This Boston Lectureship is altogether unique in the recent history of popular exposition of abstruse themes. One has to go back to the time of Peter Abelard, of the University of Paris, for a parallel to it.

II. FOREIGN OPINIONS.

Rev. R. Payne Smith, Dean of Canterbury.

The lectures are remarkably eloquent, vigorous, and powerful, and no one could read them without great benefit. They deal with very important questions, and are a valuable contribution towards solving many of the difficulties which at this time trouble many minds.

Rev. Dr. Angus, the College, Regent's Park.

These lectures discuss some of the most vital questions of theology, and examine the views or writings of Emerson, Theodore Parker, and others. They are creating a great sensation in Boston, where they have been delivered, and are wonderful specimens of shrewd, clear, and vigorous thinking. They are moreover, largely illustrative, and have a fine vein of poetry running through them. The lectures on the Trinity are capitally written; and, though we are not prepared to accept all Mr. Cook's statements, the lectures, as a whole, are admirable. A dozen such lectures have not been published for many a day.

Rev. Alexander Raleigh, D.D., of London.

The lectures are in every way of a high order. They are profound and yet clear, extremely forcible in some of their parts, yet, I think, always fair, and as full of sympathy with what is properly and purely human as of reverence for what is undoubtedly divine.

Rev. John Ker, D.D., of Glasgow.

My conviction is, that they are specially fitted for the time, and likely above all to be useful to thoughtful minds engaged in seeking a footing amid the quicksands of doubt. There is a freshness, a power, and a felt sincerity, in the way in which they deal with the engrossing questions of our time, and, indeed, of all time, which should commend them to earnest spirits which feel that there must be a God and a soul, and some way of bringing them together, and which yet have got confused amid the negations of the dogmatic scepticism of our day. I had the pleasure of meeting Mr. Cook four years ago, when he was visiting Europe to make himself acquainted with different forms of thought; and I could see in him a power and resolution which foretold the mark he is now making on public opinion.

Rev. C. H. Spurgeon.

These are very wonderful lectures. We bless God for raising up such a champion for his truth as Joseph Cook. Few could hunt down Theodore Parker, and all that race of misbelievers, as Mr. Cook has done. He has strong convictions, the courage of his convictions, and force to support his courage. In reasoning, the infidel party have here met their match. We know of no other man one-half so well qualified for the peculiar service of exploding the pretensions of modern science as this great preacher in whom Boston is rejoicing. Some men shrink from this spiritual wild-boar hunting; but Mr. Cook is as happy in it as he is expert. May his arm be strengthened by the Lord of hosts!

London Quarterly Review.

For searching philosophical analysis, for keen and merciless logic, for dogmatic assertion of eternal truth in the august name of science such as fills the soul to its foundations, for widely diversified and most apt illustrations drawn from a wide field of reading and observation, for true poetic feeling, for a pathos without any mixture of sentimentality, for candor, for moral elevation, and for noble loyalty to those great Christian verities which the author affirms and vindicates, wonderful lectures stand forth alone amidst the contemporary literature of the class to which they belong.

The British Quarterly Review.

Mr. Cook is a man of wide reading, tenacious memory, acute discrimination, and great power of popular exposition. Nothing deters him. He plunges *in medias res*, however abstruse the speculation, and his vigor and fire carry all before them. He has intuitive genius for pricking wind-bags, and for reducing over-sanguine and exaggerated hypotheses to their exact value. He has called a halt in many an impetuous march of science, and exposed a fundamental fallacy in many a triumphant argument.

The London Spectator.

Vigorous and suggestive; interesting from the glimpses they give of the present phases of speculation in what is emphatically the most thoughtful community in the United States.

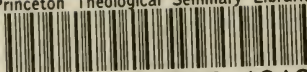
Professor Schüberlein, Göttingen University, Germany.

I admired the rhetorical power with which, before a large, mixed audience, the speaker knew how to handle the difficult topic of biology, and to cause the teachings of German philosophers and theologians to be respected.

Professor Ulrici, University of Halle, Germany.



His object is the foundation of a new and true metaphysics, resting on a biological basis; that is, the proof of the truth of philosophical theism, and of the fundamental ideas of Christianity. These intentions he carries out with a full, and occasionally with a too full, application of his eminent oratorical talent, and with great sagacity, and with thorough knowledge of the leading works in physiology for the last thirty years.

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